

Life of Dr. Duff

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ÆT. 38. SIR JAMES OUTRAM AND THE SINDH BLOOD-MONEY. 49

Soon the present fine college building of their own was to take the place of the hired house in Calcutta, and that would exhaust this and many other resources. There could be nothing for a new rural station like Imlisberia till the central Institution was efficient.

It was Sir James, then Major, Outram who came to the rescue. The first Afghan war had been succeeded by the even greater mistake of the policy of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh. The man who had written, "We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be," received six thousand pounds as the General's portion of the prize-money. The Bombay officer who had protested against the 'rascality,' whose splendid administration of Sindh would have prevented war and secured a reformed country, had assigned to him three thousand pounds as his share. What was he to do with it? Though a Derbyshire man, three years older than Duff, as a great-grandson of Lord Pitmeeden and a successful student of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Outram had watched the Scottish missionary's career with admiration. The puzzled officer turned to him for counsel as to the disposal of the money; begging him in particular to ascertain privately if the Calcutta authorities would keep the three thousand pounds for the benefit of the injured Ameers. We may imagine the amazement, and indignation, of Lord Ellenborough at a proposal so simple, but so worthy of "the Bayard of India" and of the single-eyed missionary whom he had selected as his agent in so unique a transaction. The reply was, of course, a refusal, on the ground that the Ameers had been well provided for, and that the offer, if it became public, would have the worst political effect. The fact, accordingly, we learn now for the first time from Dr.

Kyff's papers.* When he communicated the refusal, Outram replied: "Very well, it cannot be helped; I regard this prize simply as blood-money, and will not touch a farthing of it for my own personal use, but will distribute it among the philanthropic and religious charities of Bombay." Soon after this Sir James wrote to Dr. Duff saying that, after a wide distribution of what he called blood-money, there still remained Rs. 6,000, and he asked, "Have you any object on the banks of the Ganges to which this can profitably be applied?" Instantly Dr. Duff replied, "Oh, yes! I want an educational institution in a populous locality on the banks of the river in an excellent situation, and have been waiting a considerable time to secure the means of erecting a suitable building. Now singularly enough the minimum sum fixed on in my own mind was exactly Rs. 6,000, and if you approve the idea you may send that sum to me, and we shall commence at once the erection of the building." The Mission-house was erected, and has been a source of numberless blessings to the neighbourhood; from its pupils a goodly number of conversions have sprung with a wide diffusion of Christian knowledge. The building still perpetuates the political purity and English uprightness of Outram, who replied, "What a pity I did not know about this earlier, otherwise for such objects, of which I highly approve, you might have got the whole of the money." When next he visited Calcutta, where Lord Dalhousie saw in him a kindred spirit, he spent a Saturday in the Institution. The man whose courage as a soldier and a statesman rose almost to madness, stipulated that he should not be asked to make a speech. The resting-place in Westminster

* Sir Francis Outram has arranged for the preparation of a Memoir of his great father, by Sir Frederic Goldsmid.

Abbey, and the equestrian statues by Foley on the Thames Embankment and fronting the Calcutta Clubs, commemorate his victories in Persia and the relief of Lucknow. But let not the Sindh blood-money and Duff's Bansberia school be forgotten, though recorded not on living marble or enduring brass.

A greater man than even Outram, however, was from the first a generous ally of Dr. Duff. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had found Christ when a young lieutenant of artillery at Dum Dum, and who had established at Ferozepore the American Presbyterian Mission from which the invitation to united prayer first sounded forth in 1860 among all English-speaking races, used to spend his whole income, beyond a bare sustenance, on Christian philanthropy in India. Every year from 1844 till he concentrated his energies on the Hill Asylums for soldiers' children, he sent four hundred pounds to Mr. Marshman for distribution among Dr. Duff's, the Serampore, the Church Missionary and other societies. At the same time others, such as Dr. T. Smith and the writer, were his frequent almoners down to the day of his heroic death. On his way home, in 1847, he took part in the public examination of the Institution, a fact to which we find Dr. Duff thus referring at the time: "The Colonel Lawrence who assisted at the public examination is the same gentleman whose measures have been so wonderfully successful in pacifying the Punjab. He is to accompany Lord Hardinge to England. For years past he has taken a warm interest in our Institution and its success, and has been a liberal contributor to its funds. In this and in other ways God is raising us up friends, even in high places; and to Him we desire to ascribe all the praise and the glory."

On his final return to India the year after, he and Outram, then seeking rest, hurriedly met in the dim-

ness of night in the desert of Suez, with impressions which Lady Lawrence thus recorded for her eldest son : "Our vans stopped ; papa got out, and in the twilight had ten minutes' talk with Colonel Outram. There is much alike in their characters, but Colonel Outram has had peculiar opportunities of protesting against tyranny, and he has refused to enrich himself by ill-gotten gains. You cannot, my boy, understand the question about the conquest of Sindhl by Sir Charles Napier ; but I wish you to know that your parents consider it most unjust. Prize-money has been distributed to those concerned in the war. Colonel Outram, though a very poor man, would not take money which he did not think rightfully his, and distributed all his share in charity, giving £800 to the Hill Asylum at Kussowlie. I was glad, even in the dark, to shake hands with one whom I esteemed so highly."

Thus Dr. Duff and his colleagues organized the second Mission in and around Calcutta, and among the most densely peopled portions of rural Asia—the counties of Hooghly and Burdwan to the north-west. "Oh," he wrote to Dr. Gordon, "that we had the resources, in qualified agents and pecuniary means, with large, prayerful, faithful hearts, to wait on the Lord for His blessing, and then under the present impulse might we, in every considerable village and district of Bengal, establish vernacular and English seminaries, that might sow the seeds of divine truth in myriads of minds, and thus preoccupy them with principles hostile to ruinous error and favourable for the reception of saving knowledge. But to this end we would require not five hundred but fifty thousand for this Presidency alone. It looks like something utterly unattainable, yet the cost of one British vice for a single year—the annual sum expended on

ardent spirits, which destroy the bodies and the souls of thousands—would secure to us over fifty thousand schools!" Nearly thirty years were to pass before, in Bengal proper, the Government did its duty on the secular side, and the Mutiny called the Vernacular Christian Education Society into existence to supply Bible schools, trained teachers and a pure literature, all on too small a scale.

And now, as ever, Dr. Duff and all the Free Church of Scotland's missionaries in its three colleges and many schools, laboured and prayed for immediate conversions as the sign and the fruit of the Spirit's blessing on their patient sapping of the whole spiritual and social system of Brahmanism. Referring to the baptism of a student, which had temporarily emptied the college in Madras, Dr. Duff wrote: "It must never be forgotten, that, while the salvation of one soul may not *in itself* be more precious than that of another, there is a prodigious difference in the relative amount of practical value possessed by the conversion of individuals of different classes, as regards *its effect on society at large*. It is this consideration, duly weighed, which explains the immense relative importance of the conversions that have taken place in connection with our several Institutions at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The number has been comparatively small. But the amount of general influence excited thereby must not be estimated according to the number. The individuals converted have belonged to such classes and castes that the positive influence of their conversion in shaking Hindooism and convulsing Hindoo society has been vastly greater than it might have been if hundreds or even thousands of a different class or caste had been added to the Church of Christ. While therefore it is our duty to pray for immediate results, if the Lord will—to 'attempt and

expect great things' at His hands,—let us beware of being impatient. The Lord is working silently in the midst of us; and when His time cometh He will make bare His holy arm for the salvation of multitudes. Meanwhile those occasional upheavings and convulsions which apparently retard the progress of His cause He sovereignly overrules for its ultimate furtherance." That was written in April, 1844. In July there came to Dr. Duff's house one Gobindo Chunder Das, who had been removed from the old Institution during a panic caused by the baptisms of 1839. For six years the truth wrestled with the lad, overthrew now his timidity and now his pride, and sent him to Dr. Duff under strong convictions of sin and a firm resolution to sacrifice all for Christ. After the usual persecution by his family and clan he was received into the church and became a useful teacher in the college. He was the first-fruit of the Free Church Mission as to his baptism, yet the change had been really originated in the old General Assembly's Institution. Every convert as well as every missionary thus maintained the continuity of the work which had begun in July, 1830, in the Chitpore road.

The conversion and baptism of young men of marked ability and high social or caste position now followed so fast on Gobindo's that, once again, the Brahmanical community of Calcutta was moved to its depths. The year 1845 opened with the public confession and admission of Gooroo Das Maitra, whom Dr. Duff gladly made over to the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, when the Punjab became a British province soon after. There the Bengalee was ordained as a missionary minister. Thence he was long after "called," after the simple custom and ecclesiastical law of the spiritually independent Free Church, by the Bengalee Presbyterian Church in Calcutta, to be

their minister. To them, largely supporting him, he still devotes his life as preacher and pastor. At the same time Umesh Chunder Sirkar sought baptism. For two years the Bible teaching in the college had disturbed him, and had so drawn him towards Christ that his alarmed friends urged him to study Paine's writings. These completed his conviction of the divine truth of Christianity, and of his duty to profess that conviction openly by obeying Christ's command. But he was young, only sixteen. He longed to instruct and take over with him his child-wife of ten, and his father was a stern bigot, of great authority and influence as treasurer to the *millionnaire* Mullik family. For two years, therefore, the boy-husband and his wife searched the Scriptures diligently in the midnight hours snatched from sleep, when alone, in the crowd of a great Bengalee household, they could count on secrecy, though ever suspected. After much reading of the Bengalee Bible, Umesh Chunder taught her the Bengalee translation of the "Pilgrim's Progress."* Here was the true zanana teaching, the best form of female education, that which has rendered all subsequent progress under English-speaking ladies possible. When the wife of twelve read the opening description of Christian's flight from the City of Destruction, she exclaimed, "Is

* The greatest of human allegories has been translated into every principal Indian Vernacular. It has, in the East as in the West, proved to be the most popular Christian book next to the Bible. Mrs. Sherwood, wife of an Indian officer, and the well-known story-writer of the last generation, wrote, in English, a curious adaptation of it for the use of the natives, called "*The Indian Pilgrim; or, the Progress of the Pilgrim Nazareene from the City of the Wrath of God to the City of Mount Zion.*" But that the genius of Bunyan has made his Dream as suitable to the Oriental as to the Western, without such tampering with it, is shown by the popularity of the "Pilgrim's Progress" even with non-Christian Asiatics.

not this exactly our condition? Are not we now lingering in the City of Destruction? Is it not our duty to act like Christian—to arise, forsake all, and flee for our lives?" On the next idol festival, when even Hindoo married women are allowed liberty enough to visit their female caste friends in neighbouring houses in closed palankeens, Umesh conducted his true-hearted little wife to Dr. Duff's house. The then deceased Mahendra had supplied the copy of Bunyan's "Pilgrim" which had thus been blessed, and the more recent convert, Jugadishwar, had assisted Umesh in the flight. They came to the missionary's house on the Sabbath afternoon, on the close of a prayer meeting which one of the elders of the Free Church congregation, Mr. J. C. Stewart, son of Dr. Stewart of Moulin, used to hold with the converts. "While meditating in my own closet on the ways of God," Dr. Duff wrote afterwards, "and wondering whether and in what way He might graciously interpose to deliver us from our distresses, suddenly Umesh, his wife and Jugadishwar appeared before me. It looked like the realization of a remarkable dream. 'The Lord be praised,' said I. What could I say less? His mercy endureth for ever. He had visited and holpen His servants."

Now began a tumult such as no previous case, not even Gopeenath's, had excited. Dr. Duff's house was literally besieged. The Mulliks as well as the Sirkars, both families or clans, and their Brahmans, beset the young man. They attempted violence, so that the gate was shut next day to all but the father, the brother, and the wealthy chief of the Mulliks. For days this went on, for the missionary would not deny to the new convert's family that which was the only weapon he claimed for Christ—persuasion. At last the scene changed to the Supreme Court. Choosing his time

when the court was rising for the day, the father's counsel moved for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to Dr. Duff to produce Umesh Chunder, on the affidavit that the youth was only a little more than fourteen years of age, and was kept in illegal restraint. The Chief Justice himself was on the bench, and Mr. Macleod Wylie happened not to have left the court. Sir Lawrence Peel, worthy to be the cousin of a statesman like Sir Robert, knew that Dr. Duff would not exercise restraint of any kind. Suspecting the truth of the affidavit, he investigated the case at once, and the writ was refused. The youth was really above eighteen years of age. There was no question raised as to his wife. Both were baptized, while a crowd of the Mylliks' followers raged outside, and their chief and the convert's father declined to be witnesses of the solemn service. In Bengal at least this was "the first instance of a respectable Hindoo and his wife being both admitted at the same time, on a profession of their own faith, into the Church of Christ by baptism." And the husband had brought the wife into the one fold. So, after the presentation by Gopeenath and his wife of their boy for baptism, the creation of the Christian family in the very heart of Brahmanism became complete. Silently is the little leaven leavening the whole lump.

A week after, the tumult was repeated in the case of one who had been a student for eight years, and is now the Rev. Baikunta Nath Day, of Culna. He found refuge with Dr. Thomas Smith, then residing in the suburbs of Calcutta. Thence, in the missionary's absence, he was forcibly abducted, and was imprisoned, in chains, in a distant relative's house. Mr. Wylie obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, but it was found impossible to execute that, as happened about the same time in Dr. Wilson's case in Bombay. Meanwhile

against Christ and the chains Baikunta's family set all the sensual pleasures in which idolatry is so fertile. As Dr. Duff reported the case, "every attempt was made not only to pervert the mind, but corrupt the very morals of the young man—in order, if possible, to unfit him for becoming a member of the visible Church of Christ. What a testimony to the purity of Christianity!—the very heathen practically confessing that impurity and uncleanness are incompatible with an honest or consistent profession! and that one of the surest ways of preventing a person from becoming a Christian, is to debase his moral feeling, and bring the stain of vice on his character! What a testimony, on the other hand, against heathenism! It can tolerate any enormity—theft, drunkenness, hypocrisy, debauchery—these, and such like violations of the moral law, it can wink at, palliate, or even vindicate; but to seek for the pardon of sin, and the sanctification of a polluted heart, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the open profession of His name—this, this it cannot and will not endure, but must visit with reproach, ignominy, and persecution even unto death! Happily, however, the young man was enabled to resist all temptations and allurements; and happily, too, he was not overcome, so as to deny or be ashamed of the name of Jesus." The place of his captivity was discovered, the writ compelled his surrender, and he has since been an earnest teacher and accredited preacher of the truth of which he thus witnessed a good confession.

The record, in their own language, of the doubts and fears, the aspirations and convictions, the turning and the triumph of the converts from Brahmanism and Muhammadanism, in India, influenced by all the Churches but especially by the Scottish system of evangelizing, would form a volume precious to the

history of Christianity, early and later. The *Clementines* and the *Confessions* of Augustine would have many a parallel. We do not doubt that coming generations of the Church of India will, in their own tongue, thus tell the wonderful works of God. But it would be well if the detailed experiences of the first converts in Calcutta and Bombay, in Madras and Nagpore, in Allahabad and Agra, in Lahore and Peshawur, were collected before it is too late. We need do no more than mention the names of the three other converts who made up the seven faithful ones whom Dr. Duff's Free Church College at the opening of the second year of its existence sent to the baptismal font. These were Banka Behari Bose, Harish Chunder Mitter, and Beni Madhub Kur. Nor were Hindoos the only converts. Five Jews, headed by Rabbi Isaac, and forming an almost patriarchal household, were led by an English officer, whom the Disruption had attracted to the Free Church, to seek instruction from Dr. Duff and baptism into the name of Jesus the Messiah.

Again was there raised the cry of "Hindooism in danger." The Institution, which in its college and school departments had risen to above a thousand in daily attendance, and thirteen hundred on the roll, lost three hundred youths in one week. In his first campaign of 1830-34, Dr. Duff had found himself fronted by the orthodox Brahmanical families only. But now these were reinforced by the wealthy clans of Mulliks and Seels, by men of low but respectable castes who, under the previous half-century of British rule, had risen from the buying and selling of empty beer bottles and other European refuse, to become landholders with a capital reckoned literally by crores of rupees or millions sterling. The poverty and greed of the Brahmanical priesthood, allied with the wealth of the socially ambitious *nouveaux riches*, on whom it conferred a

sanctified respectability, became apparently a far more formidable opposition than any which the Scottish Missions had yet been called to encounter. Nor was this all. Jesuits had invaded the diocese of the Irish Roman Catholic bishop, and he was long in getting them driven out, only, however, to see them return in that greater force which has of late injured the true interests of the Papacy in the East. While the Brahmans cursed Dr. Duff, their low caste allies, the Seels and Mulliks, resolved to establish a rival college. They turned to the Jesuits, and to an Irish adventurer named Tuite, as the only so-called Christians who would consent to teach English and Western science on purely secular lines. Thus was established Seel's Free College, of which a Mullik is still the secretary, and is now so fair as to write in the last report we have seen : "I must acknowledge the great benefit which has been derived by our children from the efforts of Christian missionaries." Similarly one Gourmohun Addy established the Oriental Seminary as an adventure school.

Apart from the intolerance and bigotry of the movement it is deeply to be regretted, and most of all by the missionaries, that the natives of India, of all creeds, have not thus independently sought to supply education to their children after their own fashion. They began to do this in 1818 in the Hindoo College. But they always childishly fell back on Government for public instruction as for political and administrative development. As between them and the missionaries a fair grant-in-aid system would have brought out the self-reliant natives, and men of Dr. Duff's stamp at least had no fear of the issue in so fair a field. But as between Government and the missionaries—a Government necessarily neutral in principles and secular or antichristian in practice—the Churches and the Parliament of the governing country see all that is

good in Hindooism destroyed, while that alone which can fill the moral void and supply the spiritual motive power is officially discouraged. It is orthodox Hindoos, in each generation, who are the present victims, as they bitterly complain. But it is the public security and contentment, the national progress and peace, which are threatened, as Lord Northbrook and even Lord Lytton have lately confessed. The Churches and their agents are meanwhile injuriously checked by the unparalleled patronage, by the Indian Government, of a system of purely secular public instruction, in defiance of the Despatch of 1854, which Dr. Duff, as we shall see, devised as a remedy fair to all. He himself must now picture the scene:—

“ CALCUTTA, July 2, 1845.

“ **MY DEAR DR. GORDON**,—Our Institution is still standing—standing out bravely amid the incessant peltings of a storm which has continued to rage for two months with scarcely a single lull. Thanks be to God for the result! Shaken it has been—severely shaken; how could it be otherwise? But the real wonder is, that it has not been torn up, root and branch. The combination against it has been all but universal, including nearly the whole rank, wealth and power of the native community, of all classes, sects and castes. . . .

“ Were it not for the adhesive force of the attachment of our pupils to ourselves and our system, the Institution, as a living one, would undoubtedly have been clean swept away. Whence, then, this attachment? Solely from the considerate kindness with which love to their souls ever prompts us to treat them; and from the nature of the instruction received, both as regards its substance and the mode of its conveyance. Only let us become cold, lukewarm, or inattentive in our personal exertions and intercourse with the pupils; and let the fulness and efficiency of our course of instruction suffer any material diminution or abatement; and then, however the Institution may rear up its head amid the sunshine and the calm, the very first gust of a tempest, like that which has recently swept over it, would blow it all away. There is no medium between

doing our work thoroughly and not doing it at all. No exertion, therefore, and no reasonable expense, should ever be spared in maintaining unimpaired the vigour and effectiveness of the entire machinery—physical, intellectual, moral and religious. On this, humanly speaking, depends the whole dynamic force of our well-doing in connection with its vital bearings on the mightiest interest of time and eternity.

"Recent events have also tended strikingly to exhibit the weakness and helplessness of Hindooism. Its whole strength, in the metropolis of India, has been mustered in hostile array against Christianity and its missionaries. Rajas and Zemindars, Baboos and Brahmans, have all combined, counselled, and plotted together. An eye-witness, at one of the great Sabbath meetings at which not fewer than two thousand were present, assured me that several hundreds consisted of Brahmans, who, at times, literally wept and sobbed, and audibly cried out, saying 'that the religion of Brahma was threatened with destruction, and that, unless energetic measures were instantly adopted, their vocation would soon be at an end !' In such a desperate crisis of affairs, what plans might naturally suggest themselves to men upborne by a penetrating consciousness of the rectitude of their own cause ? Would it not be the instituting of a public lectureship, or some other engine for exposing the claims and pretensions of the so much dreaded Christianity ?—the contemporaneous establishing of lectureships, professorships, or other appropriate means for expounding, inculcating, and upholding the tenets and peculiarities of the Hindoo religion and ritual ? But no ; the prevailing taste is not found, after all, to lie in this way ; a new current is discovered setting in a contrary direction. The grand object is to crush Christianity and perpetuate Hindooism. And how is this end to be compassed by the united wisdom of Hindoo princes, nobles, and sages ? By founding an *English college* for the teaching of *European literature and science* ! They have done the worst which they could against us ; and this is the worst ! In other words, the most effective measure which, in the present state of things in the metropolis of British India, the confederated votaries of Hindooism have been able to contrive against Christianity—its encroachments and threatened successes—has been to originate a new scheme of English education !—a scheme which, from its exclusion of Christianity,

may, in the first instance, be, or appear to be, hostile to it ; but which, in the long run, will by no means be found necessarily hostile, and often positively friendly ; while, in the end, it is sure to prove absolutely ruinous and suicidal as regards Hindooism ! In briefer and plainer words still—the only way at present in Calcutta for upholding Hindooism, is to establish a system which must eventually prove fatal to it ! What a singular commentary does this one fact furnish on the extraordinary peculiarity of the presence, position, and destiny of the British power in India ! Surely there are mysteries of Providence here to call for the gravest reflection, while they baffle all our efforts adequately to comprehend or conceive them !

"Recent events have also supplied fresh evidence of the importance of Calcutta as a centre of operations—a focus of emanative influences. To it, as the emporium of commerce, and the seat of the supreme government as well as of the supreme courts of review, natives resort from all parts of Eastern India. These keep up a regular and extensive correspondence with their respective homes. In this way intelligence of all movements and occurrences here is rapidly conveyed to all parts of the country. A few days sufficed to make the principal stations, and many of the obscurest villages in Bengal, acquainted with the general drift and character of recent measures, and their originating causes. Not later than yesterday, I happened to receive a letter from a gentleman at a remote station, considerably beyond Allahabad, in the upper provinces. He states that the great anti-missionary movement, or rather Anti-Free-Church-Institution movement in Calcutta, almost immediately affected the missionary schools there. Some natives of that place, presently resident in Calcutta, had written to their friends, apprizing them of all that had happened, and urging them to sound the alarm far and wide, with the view of withdrawing all children from the missionary schools. Many took the alarm, and acted on the advice ; so that for a few weeks the schools were seriously affected. The panic, however, was gradually abating ; and it was expected that ere long all would return. Who may not perceive in these successive waves of alarm rolling over the great Gangetic valley, containing more than half the population of all India—stirring up the dormant myriads into something like wakefulness, originating new and unwonted inquiries, suggesting now

thoughts, introducing new ideas, and leading to new and strange forebodings of future change—who may not perceive in all this one of the many providential preparations for the ultimate and more effective propagation of the Gospel itself? And what is true of Calcutta is, in a corresponding measure, true of Madras and Bombay.

"How often does the Word of God assure us that, sooner or later, the wicked shall be taken in their own craftiness, and fall into the pit which they have dug for others! An instructive example of this has occurred in connection with the recent antichristian movement. The united meeting of Hindoos had resolved to draw up a written form of agreement, which, under the threat of excommunication, or loss of caste, was to be forced on the parents and guardians of pupils attending our Institution. In compulsorily signing this agreement, they were to bind themselves to remove the pupils from ours, and send them to the new college. This agreement was regarded as the grand bond of union and strength to the confederacy, and the surest guarantee of the success of its leading scheme. Well, the agreement was formally drawn up. Its principal concocter happened to be a leader of the Brahma Sobha, or Vedant school of Hindooism, which professes to worship one supreme something, called Brahma. Now, from unchanging hereditary usage, every written document among the natives, however commonplace, must be headed by the name or designation of one or other of the popular deities. In this part of India it is usually that of Ganesha, the god of wisdom, or one or other of the names of the favourite Krishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnoo. Consistently with their own professions, the members of the Brahma Sobha could not employ any of these. Brahma, or any one of his *peculiar* designations, is their symbol. On the present occasion, however, no peculiar symbol of the Brahma Sobha could be introduced, as that would offend and irritate the members of the Dharma Sobha, the devoted up-holders of polytheism in its grossest forms. It would also be objected to by the *colluvies* of individuals who belong to neither of these Sobhas. Accordingly, the author of the written agreement and his coadjutors thought they had solved the difficulty by proposing to insert, at the head of the document, the simple term for 'God,' viz., *Ishwar*. This, they concluded, would suit all parties, and each might then put what

interpretation on the word he pleased. An adherent of the Brahma Sobha might suppose it meant Brahma, the supreme god; an adherent of the Dharma Sobha might suppose it meant any one of the gods in the Hindoo Pantheon; an adherent of neither might suppose it meant the god of his system, whether that were Nature, Necessity, Chance, or any other equally preposterous phantom. With the capacious latitudinarian superscription of *Ishwar*, or 'God,' therefore, the agreement was put in circulation. Reaching the *gooroo*, or Brahmanical spiritual guide of the Raja Rhadakant Deb—a genuine representative of the uncompromising orthodoxy of the age of the Rishis, or divine sages, and Manu—he at once snuffed heresy in the document. 'What innovation is this?' exclaimed he, in conservative ire; 'what strange innovation is this? Who ever heard of the simple term *Ishwar* being at the head of an orthodox document? No, no; this must be some new symbol of the Brahma Sobha; and by inserting it here, they wish to entrap us and commit us to their newfangled fancies. No, no; this will not do at all.' So saying, in substance, he seized his genuine *calam* or reed-pen, blotted out the term *Ishwar*, and substituted, *Sri Sri Hari*, one of the appellations of Krishna. The document then proceeded on its travels. It soon fell into the hands of a member of the Brahma Sobha. 'What!' exclaimed he in his turn, 'What! sign a document with *Sri Sri Hari* at the head of it?'—*Hari*, whose most notable exploits were the running away with the clothes of a poor washerman, and the playing all sorts of fantastic pranks with sixteen thousand milkmaids! 'No, no; this will never do. To sign a document so headed, would be to re-commit me to a formal sanctioning of all the gods and goddesses whose worship, as a member of the Brahma Sobha, I profess to slight or despise.' So saying, he must needs scratch out the obnoxious *Sri Sri Hari*, and re-introduce *Ishwar* instead. At length matters threatened to come to an open rupture. The subject was fully debated at a public meeting. It was there so far compromised. The wound, however, was only patched up—not healed. And though, from fear of failure, policy and other causes, an outward truce has apparently been the result, it has left a fatal sore, that keeps rankling within, and may some day unpleasantly show. Thus it has happened that the agreement which was expected

to form the very bond of union and strength, has been so overruled as to prove a source of jealousy, rivalry and weakness!"

After a lull for two years, the opposition was again fanned, by further baptisms, into a flame which threatened the destruction of Dr. Duff himself. Uma Churn Ghose, baptized by the Rev. Mr. Macdonald just before death removed that saintly man, was made over to the Church Missionary Society, for service at Jubbulpore. Then followed, in 1847, four baptisms, by Dr. Duff, of Koolin Brahmans—Pran Kissen Gangooly, since employed at Arrah; Kalee Das Chukurbatty, sent to Hyderabad as a teacher; Judoo Nath Banerjea, who became treasurer of the Small Cause Court at Kooshtea; and Shib Chunder Banerjea. The last has ever since been one of the most faithful catechists and preachers yet given to the Church of India. Labouring with his hands like Paul, that he may be at no man's charges, and trusted by the Government he serves in its treasury, alike at Calcutta and Simla, the zealous, eloquent Rev. Shib Chunder Banerjea gives all his leisure to evangelizing his countrymen. With his name we may here associate that of a convert of 1850, who was baptized after Soorjya Koomar Haldar, head-master of a school, and Deena Nath Adhya, a Government deputy magistrate. Shyama Churn Mookerjea showed all the manly as well as Christian virtues which Macaulay failed to find in the Bengalee. Having embraced Christ with the whole strength of his nature, and being denied his wife in the absence of the Christian marriage and divorce law passed too late for his case, he visited this country to study as an engineer, shouldered his rifle as a volunteer in Agra Fort during the Mutiny, and has since been the generous friend of his poorer Christian countrymen. He started a native mission of his own in East Bengal,

and he is now the popular hymn-writer for and manager of those 'keertuns' or services of sacred song by which, every Sabbath evening, hundreds of Hindoos are attracted to hear the gospel in the Institution where he himself found Christ. To all the new conversions of 1847 was added the first in Dr. Duff's old Institution since it had been opened by the Established Church—the baptism of one of his old students. That resulted in the defeat of the Hindoo application for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the youth having reached the years of discretion. The old animosity, fed by terror, burst out, and all native Calcutta held what the English daily papers called "an antichristian meeting," a "Hindoo demonstration against the Missionaries and Christianity." The *Hurkārn* thus reported the scene on Sunday the 19th September, 1848 :

"The meeting was crowded to excess by a curious and motley group of natives, of every caste and creed. There was the Gosain, with his head full of Jaydeva, and the amorous feats of his sylvan deity; the Tantrist, still heated with the *bhāckra* or Bacchanalian carousal of the preceding night; the educated Freethinker, as ignorant of God as he was of the world when at college; the Vedantist, combining, in himself, the unitarianism of the Vedist with the *liberalism* of the Freethinker—all assembled under the general appellation of Hindoo, to adopt proposals of the best means for the oppression of the common enemy. The proceedings began with Raja Rhadakant Deb taking the chair. It was resolved that a society be formed, named the Hindoo Society, and that, in the first instance, each of the heads of castes, sects, and parties at Calcutta, orthodox as well as heterodox, should, as members of the said society, sign a certain covenant, binding him to take strenuous measures to prevent any person belonging to his caste, sect, or party, from

educating his son or ward at any of the missionary institutions at Calcutta, on pain of excommunication from the said caste, or sect, or party. Many of such heads present signed the covenant. It was presumed that the example will be soon followed by the inhabitants of the Mofussil. One of the orthodox party present at the meeting said, after its dissolution, addressing himself to the boys present—‘Babas, be followers of one God; that is, Vedantists. Eat whatever you like, do whatever you like, but be not a Christian.’

Such of the British residents in Calcutta thirty years ago as still survive, have a lively recollection of the terrorism of that time in the native quarter. The favourite and the familiar mode of attacking private enemies and redressing private wrongs, in defiance of the law, was by hiring *latteeals*, or club-men. The courts in the interior were then few, and comparatively powerless. Native landholders and British indigo-planters thus, too often, settled their differences about lands and crops, for the East India Company was too conservative to keep pace with administrative and legislative necessities. But in Calcutta the Supreme Court had administered English criminal and sectarian civil law, ever since the dread days of Sir Elijah Impey, with stern impartiality. There, at least, there was quiet. Nevertheless, so determined were the orthodox and the vicious Hindoo majority to stop these conversions, that some of them plotted to get rid of the great cause of them all, as they supposed, Dr. Duff. Mr. Seton-Karr, then a young civilian, still recalls to us “the great stir made by some conversions, and the threats of a physical attack by latteeals to be made on Dr. Duff, to which he replied with his characteristic intrepidity.” Having previously discussed “the new anti-missionary movement” in letters to the *Hurkāru*,

signed "Indophilus," under the same name Dr. Duff addressed this "statement and appeal," this "word of faithful and firm, yet kindly admonition, to some of the Calcutta Baboos."

" TO THE NATIVE GENTLEMEN OF CALCUTTA.

" DEAR SIRS,—For some days past, sundry disagreeable rumours have been afloat among the native community of this city. At first I treated them with perfect indifference; but they have been reiterated so often, and have reached me from so many quarters, alike native and European, that I now deem it most just towards all parties thus publicly to notice them. The nature of these rumours may best appear from the following extracts from certain communications, which have been addressed to me by gentlemen of character and respectability.

" One writes thus :—' There is, I hear, a conspiracy among the wealthy Baboos to hire some ruffians to maltreat you. If you treat it (the report) with contempt, you will go on as usual. On the contrary, if you think the report to be true, you will avoid going out at night, or rather never go the same road twice together.' Another writes thus :—' I am no alarmist; but, whether with reference to the late baptisms, or other general causes, I have been credibly and seriously informed this day that there is, or is to be, a plot, by which some ruffians of the baser sort are hired to assault you—when, or where, could not of course be stated. Weighing the matter well, I thought it right to communicate this in common prudence. Pray, do not at least go out at night, nor return by the same road,' etc.

" These extracts, from some of the communications addressed to me by respectable gentlemen, are enough, in the way of sample or specimen, to indicate the general character of the rumours which have been currently prevalent and extensively believed for some days past. And it is the strength of their prevalency, in connection with the credence which they have so largely gained, which makes me feel that it is more kind, more friendly, and more just towards those at whom the rumours point, thus openly and frankly to appeal to you.

" 1. If that part of the rumours be true which alleges that you are at length to submit to sacrifices and self-denial for

the sake of being profusely liberal in the cause of native enlightenment, no one can rejoice more in the fact than I do. The inculcation of the duty of liberality in a worthy cause has been one of the great objects of my life and labours since I came to India. And were but a tithe of what is now so lavishly expended on riotous and idolatrous feasts and festivals, and nautches, and marriages, and endless superstitious ceremonies, devoted to the cause of English education, it would undoubtedly tend to accelerate the progress of events towards a new and better era for this long benighted land. The religious societies in Great Britain raise *annually*, by voluntary contributions, at least half a million sterling, or fifty *lakhs* of rupees, for the enlightenment not of their own countrymen, but of races of men scattered throughout the world whom they have never seen. And this they do because Christianity, which they believe to be the only true and worthy revelation from God, enjoins them to love all men, and to do good to all, as they have opportunity. Now, if you begin to set a similar example of liberality in well-doing to the people of Asia, and primarily for the benefit of your own countrymen, or if you outrival your fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and thus be the means of stirring them up to still greater munificence, I shall hail the achievement as one that shall gain you immortal renown, and for your country, under the overruling providence of God, an accession of blessings that shall enrich and ennoble the latest posterity.

" 2. As to the threats of violence, which, according to many-tongued rumour, are said to be loweringly suspended over the heads of parents who, in the free exercise of their own parental rights as free-born citizens of a free state, have been pleased, or may yet be pleased, to send their children to the Free Church Institution with which, for the last seventeen years, I have been connected, I must, in the absence of all positive proof, and in the exercise of ordinary charity, believe either that the report is unsounded or grossly exaggerated. That such rumours, even if wholly unfounded, should so readily gain credence with so many of our fellow-citizens, is melancholy enough, as indicative of some lingering remnants amongst us of the persecuting spirit and practice of a bygone age. But that any such threats as busy rumour insists on proclaiming, should really have been held out by a self-constituted body of private individuals, and

hung, *in terrorem*, over the heads of free-born British subjects, their own fellow-citizens, would be vastly more melancholy still. Such a portentous phenomenon would prove, beyond all debate, that the Calcutta Baboos were not what their best friends sincerely wish them to be. Such a flagrant outrage on the principles of toleration, equity, and civil order, would serve mournfully to convince the sincerest advocates of Indian amelioration, that despite the multifarious processes of thirty or forty years' education, the Calcutta Baboos were still the representatives of antiquated intolerance, and openly repudiated any genial alliance with the fraternity of modern civilization. It would serve to transport us in vision to the days of Manu, or, rather, painfully to revive amongst us practices which, however conformable to the genius of the Institutes, would soon tend to plunge us into the very depths of a revolting barbarism. Again, then, for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the credit of our native gentry, I must suppose that the rumours are either wholly unfounded or grossly exaggerated. Of one thing I am sure, and to their honour I must proclaim it, that, amongst the Calcutta Baboos there are those whose kind-heartedness, good sense, and enlightened principles, would lead them to shun and even denounce any violent and illegal measures to coerce their poorer fellow-citizens in the exercise of their undoubted rights and privileges, as men and as British subjects.

"3. As to the rumour of threats respecting myself, I shall continue to treat it as an 'idle tale.' Among the Calcutta Baboos there are those whom I respect and esteem, and to whose keeping I would at any time entrust my life, in the most perfect confidence of friendship and protection. If others, who do not know me personally, should, in ignorance of my principles and motives, entertain unkindly or hostile feelings towards me, the fact would be in no way surprising. Even if the alleged threats were real, and not the progeny of lying fiction, I should not be in the least degree moved by them. My trust is in God; and to me that trust is a guarantee of security far more sure than a lodgment within the citadel of Fort-William, with its bristling array of artillery. To this country I originally came, not of necessity, but by free choice, for the express purpose of doing what I could in diffusing sound knowledge of every kind, and especially the knowledge of

that great salvation which is freely offered in the gospel to all the kindreds and tribes of the fallen family of man. The only means employed are patient instruction, oral and written, in every variety of form, accompanied and enforced by the appliances of moral suasion. Old and young are uniformly dealt with, as endowed with rational and moral faculties, and, therefore, accountable for the proper use of them. They are exhorted to awake, and arise from the slumbers of inveterate apathy, inconsideration, and indifference. They are called upon to acquit themselves like men, in thinking, judging and acting for themselves, under a solemn sense of their responsibility to God, the alone Lord of conscience. Of course, it follows, that should any respond to the call that is thus addressed to them they must, in varying degrees, have eyes open to discern the error and the evil of many ancient hereditary beliefs, habits, and practices. And should they be endowed from on high with the necessary fortitude to give effect to their new convictions, the result is inevitable; they must, to a great extent, separate themselves, in the present unpropitious and transitional state of things, from the surrounding mass. That, instead of admiring the decision, and applauding the consistency of such a course of conduct, the great inert mass of conservatism should resent the separation as an insult, an indignity, an injury offered to itself, need occasion little wonder, however much the intellectual and moral blindness of such procedure may awaken serious regret. And that the human agents or instruments employed in effecting such changes, however pure in their motives, benevolent in their intentions, or disinterested in their ends and aims, should share in the resentment of the thoughtless, the unreasonable, the carnally-minded, the selfish, or the profane, follows as by a law of fatal necessity.

"But we live by faith, and not by sight. Our principles are not of human, but of divine origination. They are not of mushroom growth, springing up to serve an ephemeral purpose to-day, and vanishing to-morrow. They are not like the ever-shifting sands of worldly expediency, glancing in the sunshine of popular applause before us at one time, and behind us at another; now obedient to the breeze on the right hand, and then on the left. No; our principles are, in their fountain-head, old as eternity; and as they come streaming forth athwart the course of time, they bear upon their front the

impress of immutability. Vain then, preposterously vain, must be any attempt to drive us from the promulgation of these ennobling principles by threats of terror or of violence. For, not only are they in their own nature unchangeable, but, in their main scope, purpose and end, they exhibit an aspect of inexpressible kindness towards man; so much so, that were man not his own greatest enemy in rejecting them, were he only his own best friend in cordially embracing them, his whole nature would be renovated, and the earth itself, now filled with envies, jealousies, rivalries and violence, would be transformed into a universal Eden of blessedness. Here is a specimen of the system of principles or truths which we teach:—

“‘In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth.’ ‘So God created man in His own image’ (or moral likeness). ‘And God saw every thing He had made, and behold it was very good.’ ‘God made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions.’ ‘By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.’ But, ‘the Lord is righteous in all His ways, and holy in all His works.’ He is ‘of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity.’ ‘The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.’ At the same time, the Lord hath proclaimed His name, saying, ‘The Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, longsuffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty.’ As far as the race of man, ‘There is none righteous, no not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God: they are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one.’ But, ‘God so loved the world that He sent His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’ ‘God is love.’ ‘Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins.’ ‘If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.’ ‘If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.’ ‘Let every one that nameth the

name of Christ depart from all iniquity.' 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' 'Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.' 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.'

"Such are some of the heavenly principles, which, in obedience to a divine command, we feel ourselves imperatively called on to publish and inculcate; for the temporal and spiritual improvement of our fellow-creatures. And though numbers of the present generation, in their ignorance and infatuated blindness to their own best interests, should rise up to curse and otherwise maltreat us, through the appropriate agency of hired ruffians—nevertheless, so far from being deterred from prosecuting our chosen walk of truest benevolence, we shall only be impelled the more, by the pity and compassion which such suicidal opposition must ever inspire, to persevere with augmenting diligence and energy in the attempt to confer the greatest of benefits on those who thus blindly resist us;—in the full assurance, that, however they may misconstrue our motives, or vilify our good name, or thwart our measures, their more enlightened descendants shall yet arise to bless us for our labours of love, and enshrine our names in perpetual remembrance. But if it were otherwise; if we knew for certain, that from our fellow-men we could expect nothing but hatred and contempt during life, and the brand of infamy attached to our names after death, we should still work on, sustained by the testimony of our own consciences and a full sense of the approbation of the great God. In this world we never expected any adequate return for our self-denying labours; it is to heaven we have always looked, in assured faith, for the eternal recompence of reward. Come then what may—come favour or disfavour, come weal or woe, come life or death—it is our resolute purpose, by the blessing of God, to persevere. It is our heart's desire to see the soul of every son and daughter of India truly regenerated by the quickening word of the living God, accompanied by the efficacy of His almighty Spirit; and thus to see India itself at length arise from the dust, and, through the influence of her regenerated children, become a praise and a glory in the whole earth. And the realization of a consummation so glorious, so far from being retarded, can only be hastened by the vigorous execution of such intolerant and

violent measures as rumour now so stoutly attributes to the short-sightedness of the Calcutta Baboos. Truly may the Christian, with reference to the projectors of such measures, take up the sublimely benevolent prayer of his cruelly persecuted and crucified Lord, in behalf of the savage murderers, and say, ‘Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.’ Let the Calcutta Baboos, whom rumour represents as assembling, on Sundays, in secret conclave to brood over dark plots and hatch schemes of violence against their unoffending fellow-citizens, remember that the actual execution of such schemes would inflict deadly injury on no one but themselves, and irretrievably damage no cause but their own;—whilst the cause of those whom they now mistakenly regard as adversaries, when they are in reality their best earthly benefactors, would thence receive an accelerative impetus, which the united friendly patronage of all the men of rank and wealth in India could not impart. In the early ages of relentless persecution by the emissaries of Pagan Rome, it passed into a proverb, that ‘the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church.’ And let the Calcutta Baboos rest assured, that the vital principle involved in this proverb has lost nothing of its intrinsic efficacy or subduing power. The first drop of missionary blood that is violently shed in the peaceful cause of Indian evangelization, will prove a prolific seed in the outspreading garden of the Indo-Christian Church. And the first actual missionary martyrdom that shall be encountered in this heavenly cause, may do more, under the overruling providence of God, to precipitate the inevitable doom of Hindooism, and speed on the chariot of gospel triumph, than would the establishment of a thousand additional Christian schools, or the delivery of ten thousand additional Christian addresses, throughout the towns and villages of this mighty empire.

“With sincerest wishes for your temporal and everlasting welfare, I remain, dear sirs, yours very truly,

“INDOPHILUS.”

“Calcutta, September 17th, 1847.”

The increase of converts, some of them with families, and the formation of classes of theology for the training of several of them as catechists, then preachers,

and finally ordained missionaries and pastors, embarrassed Dr. Duff and his colleagues, but in a way which rejoiced their hearts. At first, in Calcutta as in Bombay, the catechumens, whom the caste and intolerance of Hindooism excluded from their families and society, became inmates of the missionary's home and frequent guests at his table. To be thus associated with men of God and gentlemen of the highest Christian culture, like the founders of the Bengal and Bombay Missions, was a privilege which the most scientific training in Divinity could not supply, and without which such training must have been one-sided or spiritually barren. What the intercourse with Dr. and Mrs. Duff was, and how they valued it, one of the ordained ministers, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, has thus recently told. The two Brahmins, Bhattacharjya and Chatterjea, still working as ordained missionaries, were his companions :

" We three messed together by ourselves ; but we joined Dr. Duff and Mrs. Duff (their children being away in Scotland) at family worship both morning and evening. Duff was punctual as clockwork ; exactly at eight o'clock in the morning—not one minute before or after—the prayer-bell rang, and we all were in the breakfast-room, where the morning worship used to be held. Duff was always observant of the forms of politeness, and never forgot to shake hands with us, asking us the usual question, ‘ How do you do ? ’ By the way, Duff's shake of the hand was different from that of other people. It was not a mere formal, stiff, languid shake ; but like everything else of him, it was warm and earnest. He would go on shaking, catching fast hold of your hand in his, and would not let it go for some seconds. The salutations over, we took our seat. We always began with singing one of the grand old Psalms of David, in Rous's

Doric versification, Mrs. Duff leading the singing. Dr. Duff, though I believe he had a delicate ear for music, never led the singing; he, however, joined in it. He generally read the Old Testament in the morning, and the New Testament in the evening. When I joined the little circle—and there were only five of us, Duff, Mrs. Duff, Jugadishwar, Prosunno and I—he was reading through the Psalms. He did not read long portions—seldom a whole psalm, but only a few verses. He seldom made remarks of his own, but read to us the reflections of some pious divine on those verses. When going through the Psalms he used to read the exposition of Dr. Dickson; and in the evening, when going through the New Testament, he made use of the commentary, if my memory does not fail me, of Girdlestone. The reading over, we all knelt down. Oh, how shall I describe the prayers which Duff offered up both morning and evening! They were such exquisitely simple and beautiful prayers. Much as I admired Duff in his public appearances—in the pulpit and on the platform—I admired and loved him infinitely more at the family altar, where, in a simple and childlike manner, he devoutly and earnestly poured out his soul before our common Father in heaven. Most men in their family prayers repeat, for the most part, the same things both morning and evening. Duff's prayers were fresh and new every morning and evening, naturally arising out of the verses read and carefully meditated over. And oh, the animation, the earnestness, the fervour, the deep sincerity, the childlike simplicity of those prayers! They were fragrant with the aroma of heaven. They were prayers which Gabriel or Michael, had they been on earth and had they been human beings, would have offered up. I, at that time a young convert, experienced sensations which it is impossible to describe. I felt as I had

never before felt, I seemed to breathe the atmosphere of heaven. I seemed to be transported into the third heaven, standing in the Holy of Holies in the presence of the Triune Jehovah. Duff's sympathies in prayer were wide and catholic. He prayed for every section of the Church of Christ, and pleaded, morning and evening, most fervently on behalf of the heathen perishing for lack of knowledge. In the mornings, we came away immediately after prayers to our breakfast, as we were required to be ready for the Institution by ten o'clock; but in the evenings, when the family worship began at nine o'clock, Duff would often ask us to stay after prayers, and engage in conversation with us, not on any trifling, every-day, ephemeral thing, but on subjects of grave import; and sometimes we sat with him for more than an hour. How thankful do I feel for those quiet evening conversations, in which Duff impressed on our youthful minds the highest truths and the holiest principles. Those were, indeed, happy days; if they could be called back, I would, if I could, prolong them indefinitely."

This was in 1843, but by 1845 the resident converts had increased to thirteen, and four of them were married. "We have been literally driven to our wits' end in making even a temporary provision for them," wrote Dr. Duff in 1845. No sooner was the necessity known than twelve merchants and officials, nine of them of the Church of England, presented him with a thousand pounds to build a home for the Christian students, in the grounds beside his own residence, which, with wise foresight, he had long ago secured. To this, as the Ben-galtee congregation developed, and, according to Presbyterian privilege, "called" its own native minister, he added a church and manse with funds entrusted to him for his absolute disposal by the late Countess of Effingham. The community has many years since

become independent enough to dispense with the converts' rooms. In the same year, Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, and other friends in Aberdeen, unsolicited by him, sent Dr. Duff a library and scientific apparatus for the college, which completed its machinery. And then, just sixteen years after the young missionary had opened his school for teaching the English alphabet and the Bengalee Bible side by side, he saw the ripe fruit in the formal licensing by the Presbytery of the first four catechists, after strict examination, to preach to their countrymen the unsearchable riches of the Christ to Whom they had themselves been led by Western influences and along a difficult path. Long before indeed, under the more flexible system of episcopal absolutism, Krishna Mohun Banerjea had become a minister, as Dr. Duff himself described with joy; * and the two ripest of all the converts, Kailas and Mahendra, had been removed from earthly ministration to the higher service. But when, with the double experience of nigh twenty years since he himself had been set apart "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," the fervid missionary delivered the charge of the Church to the two Brahmans, the Rajpoot and the middle-class Bengalee whom he had taught with Paul-like yearning, he felt that he too had seen the Timothy and the Titus, the John Mark and the Tychicus of the infant Church of India. And so he spake to each, from the words of Paul, a torrent of spiritual eloquence which the journals of the day lamented their inability to report: "Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine." Nor did these four stand alone. Another

* Vol. i. p. 444.

of his convert-students he had given to the American Presbyterian missionaries in the Punjab, and of him he sent this report to Dr. Tweedie, who had just become convener of the home committee :

CALCUTTA, 7th April, 1848.

" A few days ago an excellently Christian lady, wife of Captain Mackenzie, who so greatly distinguished himself at Cabul, writing to my daughter from Loodiana, near the Sutlej, enclosed the printed prospectus of a mission about to be established in the now British province of the Jullunder Doab. It is under the charge of the Rev. Goluk Nath, whom the writer of the letter is pleased to describe in these terms :—' The minister of Jullunder, an old pupil of Dr. Duff's, of whom he speaks with the greatest affection,' etc. And again : ' I had nearly forgotten to beg Dr. Duff to show the circular of the Jullunder Mission to any one likely to feel interested in it. Tell him that it is a kind of grandchild of his own, as Goluk Nath is the father of it,' etc. This young man was brought up in our Institution ; but having gone to the northern provinces, he was led, in providence, to unite himself with our brethren of the American Presbyterian Mission, so that through him our Institution is, at this moment, diffusing the light of the gospel among the warlike Sikhs who so lately contested the sovereignty of India with Britain. The Lord be praised ; His holy name be magnified !

" The four native young men who were sent, about three years ago, from this city to London, to complete their medical education, and graduate there, were specially selected from the students of our Medical College, and sent, partly at the expense of the Indian Government and partly at that of private individuals, under the charge of a medical officer in the Company's service. In University College, London, they greatly distinguished themselves—all carrying off prizes, and some of them the very highest in different branches. Last year one of them returned with the diploma of surgeon from the Royal College of Surgeons; and lately other two have returned with the degree of M.D. conferred on them. The fourth, and most distinguished of them all, is still in London. Now, it can scarcely fail to interest you to learn, that of these four young

and the Edinburgh committee had their desire as to a school in the interior. While visitors from all parts of India, including far Bombay as we shall see, carried away with them the principles of the system to establish schools elsewhere, Mr. Duff was implored to open a similar school at the purely Bengalee town of Takee, forty miles off. There was the ancestral seat of Kaleenath Roy Chowdery, one of the principal followers of Rammohun Roy. He and his brothers offered all the buildings and appliances for an English, Bengalee and Persian school, to be supervised by Mr.

with spiritual and mission work. THE EXAMINATION OF
the school and the example of the Chowdery family led not a few of their wealthy co-religionists in Calcutta to open new schools or improve the old mechanical establishments.

At this time Mr. Duff supplied the Hindoo reformer with the following letter of introduction to Dr. Chalmers. Had they met during the brief remainder of Raja Rammohun Roy's life, which was spent almost exclusively in the society of English Unitarians, the sympathetic Christian divine, who had himself passed through the last spiritual conflict left for the truth-seeking Hindoo, might have led him to the only wise the Saviour. As it was, the Raja died in 1833, ~~sing~~ that he was neither Christian, Muhammadan, ~~—~~ loo. To the last he preserved his caste, that were his civil rights of property and in-

heritance and retain his nationality. His best biographer pronounces him "a religious Benthamite."

" CALCUTTA, COLLEGE SQUARE, 18th Nov., 1830.

" MY DEAR SIR,—This may probably be delivered to you by the celebrated Rammohun Roy. His general character and acquirements are too well known to require any description on my part. And when I say that he has rendered to me the most valuable and efficient assistance in prosecuting some of the objects of the General Assembly's Mission, I feel confident I have said enough to secure from you towards him every possible attention. Any further particulars illustrative of the accompanying document, which is a copy of what I originally inserted in a religious periodical published in Calcutta, as a member of the Assembly's committee, may be had from Dr. Inglis. I would write to you more frequently and more fully, were it not that I ever cherish the impression that whatever is addressed to Dr. Inglis, as chairman of the Assembly committee, is equally addressed to every individual member of it. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Chalmers and family. Yours most sincerely and gratefully,

" ALEXANDER DUFF."

Dr. Inglis and the Church of Scotland, sorely tried by the disasters which befell the first missionary, and even before they could learn his safe arrival at Calcutta, determined to pursue their original plan of sending out two colleagues to assist him whom they had appointed "the head master of a seminary of education with branch schools." One was most happily found in a tall, slightly bent and pale youth from Thurso, who, having studied at Aberdeen University, completed his course at St. Andrews a year earlier than Duff, but in time to know well the man when young

afterwards worked along with in loving harmony. The Rev. W. S. Mackay, who joined the infant mission in the autumn of 1831, was so accomplished and elegant a scholar that it is difficult to say whether he became more remarkable as a learned theologian, as a master of English literature and style, or as an astronomer. A lofty and intense spirituality marked all his work, and only a robust physique was wanting to him. But even his assistance was not enough, as the school developed into a college, and branch schools like

Sing out to
one of the great mercantile houses of Calcutta. Being
of a combative disposition he was placed by the captain
next to the missionary, who soon discovered that he
was highly educated and well read, especially in the
then little studied science of political economy. On
the failure of the firm in which the youth became an
assistant, he sought the advice of Mr. Duff, who at
once offered him the position of assistant master on
sixty pounds a year—the highest salary he was em-
powered to give, but invited him to his house as a

assistant. Mr. Clift did his work in the higher classes
In the house his conduct was upright, and at
respectful in reference to religion, on which, how-
tained a studied silence. He was sent to
the school as its first master. Thence
with jungle fever, to the tender
—In the delirium of the

disease he was heard repeating Cowper's hymn, "There is a fountain filled with blood." As he recovered he confessed that he had been trained by pious parents, and that he had led a careless life. He became a changed man on his return to Takee, from which Government took him subsequently to make him principal of an English college. The incident powerfully confirmed the young missionary in his conviction of what was then little recognised in educational systems, the importance of saturating the young mind with divine truth.

But the episode has a twofold interest apart from that. This was only one of many of that class of adventurers who, like Meacock Taylor in Western India, and hundreds of well-educated lads who enlisted in the East India Company's Army, especially, sought in service in the East, mercantile, military and uncovenanted, the career denied to their roving and romantic spirits elsewhere. Sir Henry Lawrence, after he published his marvellous sketch of the lives of such military adventurers in the Punjab,* more than once promised us to write a book on the prominent English, Scotch and Irish adventurers in India, for none knew them so well seeing that none assisted them so generously. But Mr. Clift had even a closer interest for Alexander Duff, introduced as the missionary had been into the practical and theoretical teaching of political science by Dr. Chalmers, who had in Glasgow just before given a new illustration of the meaning and the working of economics in the highest sense. In his determination to use all truth for the good of the people of India, and through it to

* *Adventures of an Officer in the Service of Ranjeet Singh.* By Major H. M. L. Lawrence, Bengal Artillery: 1845. The book is now as rare as it is valuable.

educate them to recognise and love the highest truth, Duff projected a manual of political economy more elementary than the writings of Adam Smith and J. R. McCulloch. Even at the outset he began to suspect, what every year and many a woful blunder like the mortality of the Orissa famine have since proved, that without the data supplied by the old civilizations, the so-called 'pre-historic' customs and the social systems of the East, political economy must be partial in its generalizations and one-sided in its principles. Still, even as it was in 1831, the science might be a powerful armoury against the social exclusions.

as the first in which political economy was expounded in a country where, indeed, the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis and the famous 'Fifth Report' had groped in the dark after a just and self-developing system of land revenue and treatment of land tenures; but where Holt Mackenzie and Mertins Bird, Thomason and John Lawrence were yet benevolently to dogmatize in favour of thirty years' leases, which each changing Government uses to screw more and more out of the peasantry, and thus chiefly makes unable to withstand famine when it comes. But
 ry is not complete. So little had political
 en mastered in the land of Adam Smith
 rk of Thomas Chalmers, that the com-
 the enthusiastic missionary, when
 success, for teaching a subject

which the monopolist Government of the East India Company might confound with politics !

Alexander Duff was not only in the citadel of Hindooism ; he had already dug his mine and laid the powder. The fire from heaven was about to fall, as he invoked it in the prayer of Lord Bacon* : — “ To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we pour most humble and hearty supplications ; that He, remembering the calamities of mankind, and the pilgrimage of this our life, in which we wear out days few and evil, would please to open unto us new refreshments out of the fountains of His goodness for the alleviation of our miseries. ~~This~~ ~~we~~ humbly and earnestly beg,

things may not prejudice such as are divine ; neither that, from the of sense, and the kindling of anything of incredulity or in in our minds towards divine from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the divine oracles,—there may be given up unto faith the things which are faith’s.—Amen.”

* Quoted in *India and India Missions* as the ‘appropriate conclusion’ of the book.

CHAPTER VI.

1831—1833.

THE FIRST EXPLOSION AND THE FOUR CONVERTS

Baptism.—The Amrita or martyr Convert.—The fourth Convert at last surrendered by his Father to Duff.—Origin of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.—Duff's great scheme of a United Christian College foiled by sectarian controversy in England.—A Bombay Civilian's Picture of the Revolution in Bengalee society.—Duff's private estimate of his Success and faith in his Policy.—The English Language and British Administration required to do their part.

“THROUGHOUT the whole progress of these preparatory arrangements,” Mr. Duff afterwards wrote, “the excitement among the natives continued unabated. They pursued us along the streets. They threw open the very doors of our palankeen, and poured in their supplications with a pitiful earnestness of countenance that might have softened a heart of stone. In the most plaintive and pathetic strains they deplored their ignorance. They craved for ‘English reading’ —‘English knowledge.’ They constantly appealed to

the compassion of an 'Ingraji' or Englishman, addressing us in the style of Oriental hyperbole, as 'the great and fathomless ocean of all imaginable excellences,' for having come so far to teach poor ignorant Bengalees. And then, in broken English, some would say, 'Me good boy, oh take me ;' others, 'Me poor boy, oh take me ;'—some, 'Me want read your good books, oh take me ;' others, 'Me know your commandments, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me,—oh take me ;'—and many, by way of final appeal, 'Oh take me, and I pray for you.' And even after the final choice was made, such was the ~~press of new candidates that it was found at~~

for those who
the outer

formal signature
by parents and guardians of an to secure
punctual and regular attendance, struck at the foot
of two evils which marked all the other schools and
colleges in Calcutta. The more severe test of steady
attention to the Bible studies was no less cheerfully
submitted to, parents also being invited to listen to
the hour's preaching to the young every day, and to
satisfy themselves that Christianity did not act as a
spell, although it might in time persuade as a divine
force co-operating with the truth-seeking soul; and
was in any case a perfect system of moral principles
and practice. The Lord's Prayer was succeeded by
the master parable of the Prodigal Son, and then
came the apostolic teaching to the Corinthians on
what our fathers called charity.

"Throughout, all were attentive; and the min
a few became intensely riveted, which the
eye and changeful countenance, reflecting ~~as~~ in a

mirror the inward thought and varying emotion, most clearly indicated. At last, when to the picture of charity the concluding stroke was given by the pencil of inspiration in the emphatic words 'endureth all things,' one of the young men, the very Brahman who but a few days before had risen up to oppose the reading of the Bible, now started from his seat exclaiming aloud, 'Oh, sir, that is too good for us. Who can act up to that? who can act up to that?' A finer exemplification, taking into view all the circumstances of the case, could not well be imagined of the self-evidencing light of God's holy word. It was

Then followed the Sermon on the Mount, which drove home to a people more enslaved by the letter than even those to whom it was originally addressed, the lesson of the Spirit. "When, on one occasion, the question was put, 'What do you mean by Pharisee?' a boy of inferior caste, looking significantly at a young Brahman in the same class and then pointing to him, archly replied, 'He is *one of our Pharisees!*'—while the Brahman simply retorted in great good humour, 'True, *my caste* is like that of the Pharisees, or worse; but you know *I am not to be like my caste.*'"

Nor was this all. From the simple reading of the words that promise blessedness to him who loves and prays to his enemy, one youth was turned to the feet of the Divine Speaker and became the fourth convert

of the mission. For days and weeks the young Hindoo could not help crying out, “ ‘ Love your enemies ! bless them that curse you ! ’ How beautiful ! how divine ! surely this is the truth ! ” And in the more directly secular lessons science came to carry on what grace had begun in the morning and was yet to complete. The explanation of the word “ rain ” on the Scoto-Socratic method in a junior class, led to the discovery by the lads of its true nature, as neither Indra-born nor from a celestial elephant, according to the Shasters, but the result of natural laws. “ Then what becomes of our Shaster, if your account is true,” remarked a young Brahman. “ The Shaster is true, — s true, and your ~~Guru~~oo’s account must be ~~else~~—and yet it looks so like the ~~truth~~.”

This was but a slight shock compared with that given on the next eclipse. Mr. Duff was himself as much surprised by the effect of his teaching as his pupils. He wrote of this time :—“ Though we were previously acquainted in a general way with the fact, that modern literature and science were as much opposed as Christianity itself to certain fundamental tenets of Hindooism, our own conception on the subject was vague and indeterminate. It floated in the horizon as an intangible abstraction. Now this incident, by reducing the abstract into the concrete, by giving the vague generality a substantial form, by converting the loosely theoretical into the practically experimental,—at once arrested, fixed and defined it. A vivid glimpse was opened, not only of the effect of true knowledge when brought in contact with Hindooism, but of the *modus operandi*, the precise mode in which it operated in producing the effect.”

The effect of the first year’s teaching, Biblical, scientific, and literary, through English and through Bengalee, on even the young Hindoos, was to lead

them into licence before they could reach true self-regulating liberty; for the Bengalee boy just before or at the age of puberty is the most earnest, acute and loveable of all students. The older lads, "impetuous with youthful ardour and fearless of consequences, carried the new light arising on their own minds to the bosom of the people, and proclaimed its excellencies on the L^l... its praises in the street-asse

they did not always

demeanour and style of
sideration for the feelings

darkness. Even for the infallible

holy Brahmans, before whom they were

in prostrate submission, their reverence was

diminished. "They would not conceal their gradual change of sentiment on many vital points. At length their undaunted bearing and freedom of speech began to create a general ferment among the staunch adherents of the old faith. The cry of 'Hindooism in danger' was fairly raised."

The result was seen one forenoon, when only half a dozen of the three hundred youths appeared, in the class-room. To the question of the puzzled missionary the only reply was a copy of that morning's *Chundrika*. This Bengalee paper had been established to fight for the sacred right of burning living widows with their dead husbands. Now, as the organ of the orthodox Dharma Sobha, of which its editor was secretary, it had become the champion of the whole Brahmanical system against an aggressive evangelical Christianity of a very different type from the secularism of the Hindoo College with which it had of late been allied. The decree went forth that all who attended the General Assembly's Institution were to be excluded from caste, and it was urged that a yellow flag or

other unmistakable symbol should be planted in front of the building to warn the unwary against the moral and religious pestilence. But the Hindoo society of the capital had already become too rationalistic in its mode of viewing the national faith, and too selfish in its desire to secure the best education which would lead to official and mercantile appointments. The panic did not last long. The Holy Assembly had no greater power than public opinion chose to give it. Further clamours against the missionary and his work revealed only the essential weakness of a body which the earlier reforms of Rammohun Roy had provoked into existence. Mr. Duff went calmly on till the classes became more crowded than ever. The quietness and confidence of an assured faith and an intellectual conviction were seen in his drawing up, after the experience of the first six months, "the scheme of a complete educational course which might require nine or ten years for its development, with grounds, reasons and illustrations" occupying in all about a hundred closely written folio pages. This he sent off to Dr. Inglis as the mechanism of the Christian Institute to regenerate Bengal and light a fire in British India, from which ever since many a torch has been kindled to help in the destined destruction of every form of error.

The college thus securely established in native society, triumphing over the ignorance of his own countrymen and already famous throughout India, Mr. Duff proceeded to use at the same time the two other more immediately powerful weapons of lectures and the press. The minds of not a few leading Hindoos had been emptied of their ancestral idols spiritual and ecclesiastical, and were swept and garnished. Into some, thus deprived of even the support which the ~~q~~hi-
cal elements of their old orthodoxy supplied, the ~~q~~new

demons of lawless lust and Western vice had entered with the secularism and anti-theism of the Hindoo College, so that their last state was worse than the first. Others, saved for the hour from this, were in the temporary attitude of candid inquirers, bold to violence in their denunciation of the follies of which they and their fathers had long been the victims, but timid toward the West with its tremendous claims on their minds, and yet still appealing to their intellect.

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ciples whatever," as even its

pressed it. Hence they formally resol

D'Anselme, the head-master, "in communication" the teachers, check as far as possible all disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the boys in the great principles of natural religion." This interference only fanned the smouldering fires. Discussion blazed out into ridicule. Young Brahmins refused to be guilty of the hypocrisy of submitting to investment with the *poita*, or sevenfold Brahmanical cord; many substituted favourite lines of Pope's "Iliad" for their daily and festival prayers. In February, 1830, seeing that the Hindoo College was thus threatened with extinction, although all that was going on was only the logical outcome of their principles and their administration, the managers threatened with immediate dismissal teachers who did not "abstain from any communications on the subject of the Hindoo religion with the boys," or who suffered "any practices inconsistent with the Hindoo notions of propriety, such as eating or drinking in the school or class-rooms."

By April, 1831, the ferment had so increased that Mr Derozio was discharged as "the root of all evils and

cause of public alarm." Students of "*the dining party*," who had broken caste by eating animal food, or food with Hindoos of other castes than their own, were removed; and it was determined that "such books as may injure their morals should not be allowed to be brought, taught, or read in the college." This was what fifteen years' teaching of English and Sanscrit, by the East India Company and orthodox Bengalees combined, at the bidding of Parliament which sought the moral and spiritual elevation of our native subjects, had resulted in. The unhappy Derozio, whose end was even sadder than his life which might have reflected lustre on the valuable but then uncared for community of Eurasians, was charged with inculcating "the non-existence of God, the lawfulness of disrespect towards parents, the lawfulness of marriage with sisters." He admitted the first, but pleaded that his chief object had been to enable the boys "to examine both sides of the question." Mr. Hare still was of opinion that he was a highly competent teacher; and Dr. H. H. Wilson, the official visitor on the part of Government, which spent the public funds on the place, declared he had never observed any ill effects from Derozio's instructions. But the atheistic and immoral poet was dismissed in deference to the clamours of the orthodox idolaters, although the principal English text-books, taught by men in quite as full accord with them as he, were the more licentious plays of the Restoration and David Hume's Essays!

Outside of the classes, but constantly referred to by the teachers, the favourite book was Paine's coarse "*Age of Reason*," which a respectable deist would not now mention save as a warning. That book, his better reply to Burke, his "*Rights of Man*," and his minor pieces born of the filth of the worst period of the French Revolution, an American publisher issued in a cheap octavo

edition of a thousand copies, and shipped the whole to the Calcutta market; such was the notoriety of the anti-christian success of the college which Rammohun Roy was ashamed to patronise. These were all bought at once at two shillings a copy, and such was the continued demand for the worst of the treatises that eight rupees (sixteen shillings) was vainly offered for it.* Thus, from the opposite poles of truth, were the two English colleges—the old secularists' and the new evangelical missionaries—brought into collision, as the former retired foiled in its assault on Hindooism, and the latter advanced with renewed trust in the God of truth to fire the train. Unlike the horror-stricken but passive Christian preachers in the vernacular chapels and schools of Calcutta at that time, the young Scotsman threw himself into the breach made in the at last crumbling walls of Hindooism. "We rejoiced," he wrote, "in June, 1830, when, in the metropolis of British India, we fairly came in contact with a rising body of natives, who had learnt to think and to discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom, though that freedom was ever apt to degenerate into licence in attempting to demolish the claims and pretensions of the Christian as well as every other professedly revealed faith. We hailed the circumstance, as indicating the approach of a period for which we had waited and longed and prayed. We hailed it as heralding the dawn of an auspicious era,—an era that introduced something new into the hitherto undisturbed reign of a hoary and tyrannous antiquity."

Having by his first year's work of teaching and personal influence carried on this work of preparation for calm inquiry, he took three men of like spirit with

* *Calcutta Christian Observer* for August, 1832.

himself into his counsels. Dr. Dealtry, who succeeded Corrie first as Archdeacon of Calcutta and then as Bishop of Madras, was at that time chaplain of the Old Church, and was worthy of such predecessors as Martyn and Claudius Buchanan. John Adam had been his own fellow-student at St. Andrews, and was then of the London Missionary Society. Mr. James Hill, also a Congregationalist, was the popular and able pastor of that Union Chapel in which Christians of all sects still gather on the first day of every year for catholic communion, after a fashion too rare in divided Christendom. All were eager observers of native progress, and agreed to co-operate in delivering the first course of lectures to educated Bengalees. The subject was Natural and Revealed Religion. The first lecture, on the External and Internal Evidences, fell to Mr. Duff; Mr. Adam undertook the second, on the testimony of History and Fulfilled Prophecy; Mr. Hill was to prepare the third, on Christ in the Four Gospels, and the Genius and Temper of His Religion. Dr. Dealtry was to close the course with a statement of the doctrines of Christianity. But to prepare the native mind for unprejudiced inquiry, Mr. Hill delivered an introductory lecture on the moral qualifications necessary for investigating truth. Mr. Duff fitted up a lecture room in his house, which, being still in College Square, was most central for the class invited. To some that room became the place of a new birth, and its memories still hallow the similar work, on the same site, of the Church Missionary Society.

It was a sultry night in the first week of August when twenty of the foremost students of his own and of the Hindoo College took their places in expectation of a novel exposition. With the chastened eloquence which used to attract the Governor-General and his

wife to the dissenting chapel, Mr. Hill treated a subject that called forth no controversy, and appealed to admitted but too often neglected principles. In silence the young men separated, looking forward to the real tug of war a week after in Duff's lecture on God and His Revealing. That never took place.

Next morning the news flew like wildfire over Calcutta. Students of the Hindoo College had actually attended, in the house of a missionary, a lecture on Christianity! Soon the whole city was in an uproar. The college that day was almost deserted. Continuing to rage for days the orthodox leaders accused the Government itself of breach of faith. Had it not promised to abstain from interference with their religion, and now insidiously it had brought out a wild Padre, and planted him just opposite the college, like a battery, to break down the bulwarks of the Hindoo faith and put Christianity in its place! In all haste, Dr. H. H. Wilson; Mr. Hare, Captain Price and the native managers put up a notice threatening with expulsion students who should attend "political and religious discussions." That was the degree of their love of truth. The students themselves remonstrated. Mr. Hill published an indignant exposure of the misrepresentation and cowardice of the college authorities; and Mr. Duff at greater length assailed the wisdom, justice and goodness of their tyrannical decree. But he was not the man to rashly imperil the cause in which, like the first missionary, it behoved him to be all things to all men if thereby he might win some. That was still the time of the East India Company's absolutism, when the Governor-General had the right of deporting non-official settlers without assigning reason. Not so very long before, the able civilian John Adam had gagged the press and ruined, by deporting, Mr. J. Silk Buckingham, to

appease Dr. Bryce and the *John Bull* newspaper. The very existence of the mission might be at stake, and prudence at least demanded that all the facts should be known to the Government, if only that the missionary might be assured that it shared none of the Company's ignorant fears.

Mr. Duff, therefore, thought it right to solicit a private interview with the Governor-General. Lord William Bentinck listened with the utmost attention and patience. At the close of the statement he said in substance: Assuming the accuracy of the facts which he could not possibly doubt, he felt that Mr. Duff had done nothing to contravene the law, nothing that ought to disturb the public peace. At the same time he added, from his knowledge of the Hindoo character, that it would be well to allow the present tumult quietly to subside. After a time it might be in Mr. Duff's power more successfully to renew the attempt. So far as he himself was concerned, he could not, as Governor-General, in any way mix himself up with missionary affairs, or even officially express sympathy and approval. But he declared that privately, as an individual Christian man, he felt deep sympathy with the avowed object of the missionaries, and approved of the operations of all who carried them on in the genuine spirit of the gospel. He who had been Governor of Madras during the Vellore mutiny, repeated the advice patiently to wait for a seasonable opportunity to recommence what, if Mr. Duff went about it calmly yet firmly, he himself would advance by his private sympathy and support.

This for the moment answered the purpose; fear and alarm were abated. The most advanced students, however, though having no good-will to Christianity, but the contrary, felt that this was a violent interference with their freedom and independence. They

winced under the order, and boldly proclaimed against the bigotry and tyranny of the college and the Government authorities. They seemed to champ like horses prepared for battle when forcibly kept back by bit and bridle. Still from policy or necessity they deemed it expedient to submit to what they reckoned a despotic exercise of authority.

Being thus for a time freed from the task of preparing lectures in addition to his heavy school work, Mr. Duff energetically set about mastering the Bengalee language by the help of a learned Brahman pundit. By the end of a twelvemonth he succeeded so as to speak it with tolerable fluency. He wrote out for the sake of accuracy and committed to memory his first sermon in Bengalee. But regular preaching in the vernacular he did well to leave to others, who gave their whole strength to a work specially adapted to meet a very different class from those who held the inner fort of Brahmanism. Denied lectures, the young men met in debating societies of their own. These, often nightly and in various quarters of the city, he asked permission to attend, and soon an address from him was welcomed as an attractive part of the proceedings. There it was that he first formulated his far-seeing policy on the subject of female education, from which Government still directly keeps back its hand, though aiding the tentative efforts of missionaries.

At that time Miss Cooke, who became the wife of the Church missionary, Mr. Wilson, had been teaching the first female school in Bengal for eight years. She had been led to form it by a visit paid to one of the boys' schools of the Calcutta School Society, in order to observe their pronunciation of the vernacular, which she was learning. Seeing the pundit drive away a wistful-eyed little girl from the door, she was told that the child had troubled him for the past three months with

entreating to be allowed to read with the boys. Next day, on the 28th January, 1822, she opened her first school with seven pupils, and in a year, with the help of the noble Countess of Hastings, the Governor-General's wife, she had two hundred in two schools. The Serampore three had, as usual, anticipated even Mrs. Wilson by their Female Juvenile Society. But at that early period and long after, the few hundred girls under the only partial and brief instruction allowed them before very early marriage, formed but units, and were of a class similar to those reached by the street and village preacher. Many were bribed by money to attend. The middle and higher classes, whose sons Mr. Duff had attracted to his own school and was daily influencing by personal intercourse, were shocked at the idea of educating their wives and daughters; and even if they had consented, as many now do, would not let them out of the home-prison of the zanana.

But these youths thought differently, and Mr. Duff encouraged them. One evening he found the subject of debate by some fifty Hindoo College students to be, "whether females ought to be educated." As to the theory of the thing they ended in being unanimous; one married youth exclaiming, "Is it alleged that female education is prohibited, if not by the letter, at least by the spirit of some of our Shasters? If any of the Shasters be found to advance what is so contrary to reason, I, for one, will trample them under my feet." The brave words won rapturous plaudits for the speaker. As these youths became fathers and grandfathers, female education would spread of itself, if the Christian Church supplied the vernacular and English lady teachers. Hence Mr. Duff's conclusion, as he listened to the vaporous but not insincere talk of these fledglings: "Over the pre-

sent (1830-40) generation little or no control can be exercised by these youths. But as time rolls on they become the heads of families themselves, and then will they be prepared, in many instances at least, to give practical effect to their better judgment." He dreamed, he talked, he almost lived to be witness of "the halcyon period when universal theory shall run parallel with universal practice," in instructing the women of the great educational centres of India. And we shall see how ready he was to play his part in the practice when he had done the preparatory work of educating the husbands and the fathers.

It was of societies where such questions were discussed that a vernacular newspaper exclaimed, "The night of desolation and ignorance is beginning to change its black aspect, and the sky, big with fate, is about to bring forth a storm of knowledge which will sweep those airy battlements away that have so long imprisoned the tide of thought." But social questions were not all. These were the days when the first echoes of the English Reform Bill agitation began to reach Anglo-Indian newspapers. In the native mind the constitutional progress of the English Whigs came to be mixed up with the frothy Republicanism of their familiar Tom Paine, and the *sensus communis* of Reid and the Scottish school of philosophy with that blasphemer's favourite name of "common sense." An education which, in the Government colleges, long after continued to fill the memories of the students with the best—sometimes with the worst—passages of the English poets, had made quotation the mark of culture and elegance in a young debater. They had not mastered Shakespeare or Shelley as now, but Sir Walter Scott, Byron, and even Robert Burns were their favourites. "More than once," writes Duff of that time, "were my ears greeted with the sound of

Scotch-rhymes from the poems of Robert Burns. It would not be possible to portray the effect produced on the mind of a Scotsman, when, on the banks of the Ganges, one of the sons of Brahma,—in reviewing the unnatural institution of caste in alienating man from man, and in looking forward to the period in which knowledge, by its transforming power, would make the lowest type of man feel itself to be of the same species as the highest,—suddenly gave utterance, in an apparent ecstasy of delight, to these characteristic lines :—

‘For a’ that; and a’ that,
 Its comin’ yet, for a’ that,
That man to man, the world o’er,
 Shall brothers be, for a’ that.’

How was the prayerful aspiration raised, that such a consummation might be realized in a higher and nobler sense than the poet or his Hindoo admirer was privileged to conceive ! ”

But it was time, after all this experience of the variously mixed material on which he was to work, to come to close quarters with Young Bengal ; to build a spiritual temple on the foundation thus cleared and almost crying out, as in a very similar transition state the young and erring Augustine cried, “O Truth, Truth ! how eagerly even then did the marrow of my soul part after thee ! ”

The traditional idolaters and the liberal inquirers had become separated farther and farther from each other, by that gulf which even here marks off the love of the true from the tendency to the false. The liberals established their own English journal, well naming it the *Enquirer*. Long before, Rammohun Roy had set the English *Reformer* on foot ; but it had committed itself to reproducing the antichristian attacks of Paine

after its founder had left for England, and it was assisted in this by Englishmen who called themselves Christians. The English of the *Enquirer*, and the Bengalee of the *Gyananeshun*, week after week attacked Hindooism and its leaders with a courage and skill that called down on the editors the execrations of their countrymen. But all besides was negative. The Reform Bill was eagerly turned to in July, 1831, for a positive something to rejoice in as the germ of a new reformation which would sweep away tyrants and priests. The Holy Congregation's threat of excommunication was met with this welcome : " Be some hundreds cast out of society, they will form a party, an object devoutly to be wished by us ! " The man who proved a more than worthy successor of Rammohun Roy and sounded those trumpet notes in the *Enquirer* was he who is now and has long been the staid scholar and the grave minister of the Church of England, the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, LL.D. Then he was a Brahman of the highest or Koolin class, legally entitled to marry all the women who might take hold of him to be called by his name, and with the certainty of becoming, in Hindooism, a Pharisee of the Pharisees.

Duff has himself told the story of that act by which the truth-seeking Koolin formed the party of progress which he desired. Krishna Mohun happened to be absent from a meeting of the liberal party held in his family house on the 23rd of August, 1831.

" If there be anything on which a genuine Hindoo is taught, from earliest infancy, to look with absolute abhorrence, it is the flesh of the bovine species. If there be anything which, of itself singly, must at once degrade a man from his caste, it is the known participation of that kind of food. Authentic instances are on record, wherein a Brahman, violently seized by a

Moslem, has had such meat forced into his mouth; and though deprived of voluntary agency as much as the fieriest automaton, the contamination of the touch was held to be so incapable of ablution, that the hapless, helpless, unwilling victim of intolerance, has been actually sunk along with his posterity for ever into the wretched condition of outcast. Well, in order to furnish the most emphatic proof to each other of their mastery over prejudice and their contempt of the ordinances of Hindooism, these friends of liberty had some pieces of roasted meat, believed to be beef, brought from the bazaar into the private chamber of the Enquirer. Having freely gratified their curiosity and taste with the unlawful and unhallowed food, some portion still remained, which, after the return of the Enquirer, was thrown, though not with his approbation, in heedless and reckless levity into the compound or inner court of the adjoining house, occupied by a holy Brahman, amid shouts of—‘There is beef! there is beef!’ The sacerdotal master of the dwelling, aroused by the ominous sound and exasperated at the unpardonable outrage which he soon found had been perpetrated upon his feelings and his faith, instantly rushed with his domestics to the quarter whence it proceeded, and under the influence of rage and horror, taking the law into his own hands, he violently assaulted the Enquirer and his friends.

“Knowing that they had been guilty of an action which admitted of no defence the latter confessed their criminality, uniting in apologies for the past and promises of amendment for the future. But neither confession nor apology nor promise of amendment would suffice. The openly avowed opinions and conduct of the Enquirer and his friends had long been a public scandal and offence in the eyes of their bigoted countrymen; and, short of formal excommunication,

they were in consequence subjected to all manner of persecution. But the crisis—the hour of unmitigated retribution—had now arrived. Hundreds speedily rallied around the Brahman, the sanctuary of whose home had been so grossly violated by the presence of the abomination of abominations. Inflamed with uncontrollable indignation, they peremptorily demanded of the family of the Enquirer to disown him in the presence of competent witnesses, under pain of expulsion from caste themselves. Having no alternative, his family then called upon him formally to recant his errors, and proclaim his belief in the Hindoo faith, or instantly to leave the home of his youth, and be forever denuded of all the privileges and immunities of caste. He chose the latter extremity. Accordingly, towards midnight, without being able to take formal leave of any of his friends, he was obliged to take his departure he knew not whither, because he could not be prevailed upon to utter what he knew to be false. ‘We left,’ wrote he, ‘the home where we passed our infant days; we left our mother that nourished us in our childhood; we left our brothers with whom we associated in our earliest days; we left our sisters with whom we sympathized since they were born.’ As he and his friends were retiring, the infuriated populace broke loose upon them, and it was with some difficulty they effected their escape and found shelter in the house of an acquaintance.”

Recovering from the fever that followed, young Banerjea returned to the assault, but still had no positive truth to lean upon. “I was perfectly regardless of God,” he wrote in the confessions of a later time; “yet, as a merciful Father, He forgot not me. Though I neglected Him, yet He had compassion on me, and without my knowledge or inclination created, so to speak, a circumstance that impelled me to seek after

"Him." It was this. Unwilling to compromise the outcast further, Mr. Duff sent a native friend to invite him to his house. The confessions continue: "Mr. Duff received me with Christian kindness, and inquired of the state in which we all were. He openly expressed his sentiments on what we were about; and while he approved of one half of our exertions he lamented the other. He was glad of our proceedings against error but sincerely sorry at our neglecting the truth. I told him it was not our fault that we were not Christians; we did not believe in Christianity, and could not therefore consistently profess it. The reverend gentleman, with great calmness and composure, said it was true that I could not be blamed for my not believing in Christianity so long as I was ignorant of it, but that I was certainly guilty of serious neglect for not inquiring into its evidences and doctrines. This word 'inquiring' was so uttered as to produce an impression upon me which I cannot sufficiently well describe. I considered upon my lonely condition—cut off from men to whom I was bound by natural ties, and thought that nothing but a determination on the subject of religion could give me peace and comfort. And I was so struck with Mr. Duff's words, that we instantly resolved to hold weekly meetings at his house for religious instruction and discussion." In the *Enquirer* he continued with growing boldness:—"Does not history testify that Luther, alone and unsupported, blew a blast which shook the mansions of error and prejudice? Did not Knox, opposed as he was by bigots and fanatics, carry the cause of reformation into Scotland? Blessed are we that we are to reform the Hindoo nation. We have blown the trumpet, and we must continue to blow on. We have attacked Hindooism, and will persevere in attacking it until we finally seal our triumph."

Persecution drove the reformer to a European lodging-house, for not a native dared to shelter him. There, after narrowly escaping death by poison at the hands of their outraged families, his associates found him. And there Duff held earnest conference with them, as they debated the establishment of a Reformation Society, and the only one among them who had large property of his own offered it for the common cause. But convinced that, without some nobler truths to substitute for the system they destroyed, this would prove only an eradication society, the hot conspirators in the cause of religious freedom agreed to meet in the missionary's house every Tuesday, to study the claims of Christianity to be such a positive and life-giving system as they now desiderated.

Hence the second course of lectures and discussions was carried on with ripe experience on the part of Mr. Duff, who now preferred to keep it in his own hands; and was delivered to really earnest truth-seekers, many of whom had fairly separated from the idolatrous and caste system of their fathers.. But still, at first, the *Enquirer* declared it had no religious doctrines to promulgate, only "let us have all a fair field, and adopt what reason and judgment may dictate." In a month the weekly discussions had brought its editor to the admission that theological truth is the most important of all, because of its practical influence on life, and that Christianity deserves special inquiry as having civilized a whole continent. "A reverend gentleman of the Presbyterian sect has undertaken the task of unfolding to us the nature of this set of doctrines." From forty to sixty seekers after God listened to each lecture, sat far into the night canvassing its statements, and either returned night after night for further inquiry or wrote out their difficulties for solution. The novelty of the weekly meeting drew many spectators, and some

of these professedly calm inquirers proved to be "proud, forward, rude, boisterous and often grossly insulting." But these were the exceptions, and they only stimulated the ardour without ruffling the perfect courtesy of the apostolic teacher, who had a yearning sympathy with every soul feeling after God, and knew that it is through much tribulation such must enter the kingdom. The record of these agonizings, intellectual and spiritual, forms a unique chapter in the history of the apologetics of those days.* As the demonstration of the existence and personality of the great First Cause called back the subtle spirit of the Bengalee, steeped in pantheistic polytheism, from its initial rebound into nihilism, the closing exhortations, delivered with all that tearful fervour which was soon to summon the Churches of the West to a new crusade, led them up to the great love of Christ and the influence of the Spirit.

Thus passed the cold season of 1831-32 in Calcutta. The work of John the son of Zacharias, was done. As his "Behold the Lamb of God!" sent Andrew to Christ, and Andrew "first findeth his own brother Simon . . . and he brought him to Jesus," so was it now. At the conclusion of the discussions, Mokiesh Chunder Ghose, a student of the Hindoo College, sent his own brother to Mr. Duff, with this note:—

"If you can make a Christian of *him* you will have a valuable one; and you may rest assured that you have my hearty consent to it. Convince him, and make him a Christian, and I will give no secret opposition. Scepticism has made me too miserable to wish my dear brother the same. A doubtfulness of the existence of another world, and of the benevolence of God, made me too unhappy and spread a gloom all over my

* Appendix to *India and India Missions.*

mind ; but I thank God that I have no doubts at present. I am travelling from step to step ; and Christianity, I think, will be the last place where I shall rest ; for every time I think, its evidence becomes too overpowering."

On the 28th August, 1832, the *Enquirer* announced the baptism into Christ of Mohesh himself, in an article which thus closed : " Well may Mr. Duff be happy, upon the reflection that his labours have, through the grace of the Almighty, been instrumental in convincing some of the truth of Christianity, and others of the importance of an inquiry into it. We hope ere long to be able to witness more and more such happy results in this country."

For some unexplained reason this first convert of the General Assembly's Bengal Mission chose to receive baptism at the hands of an English chaplain whom he did not know. It is no cause for regret that the broad seal of catholicity was thus stamped on Mr. Duff's work; when his first son in the faith publicly declared his belief—"in spite of myself," as he said—in the triune God, in that old mission church which Kiernander had built and Brown and Martyn, Corrie and Dealtry had consecrated by their ministrations. It was thus that this first-fruit of his toil, in Mr. Duff's house and before many witnesses, after deep silence burst forth :—

" A twelyemonth ago I was an atheist, a materialist, a physical necessitarian ; and what am I now ? A baptized Christian ! A twelvemonth ago I was the most miserable of the miserable ; and what am I now ? In my own mind, the happiest of the happy. What a change ! How has it been brought about ? The recollection of the past fills me with wonder. When I first came to your lectures, it was not instruction I wanted. Instruction was the pretext, a secret desire to expose what I reckoned your irrational and superstitious follies the reality. At last, against my inclinations,

against my feelings, I was obliged to admit the truth of Christianity. Its evidence was so strong that I could not resist it. But I still *felt* contrary to what I *thought*. On hearing your account of the nature of sin, and especially sins of the heart, my conscience burst upon me like a volcano. My soul was pierced through with horrible reflections and terrible alarms ; it seemed as if racked and rent in pieces. I was in a hell of torment. On hearing and examining further, I began, I know not how or why, to find relief from the words of the Bible. What I once thought most irrational I soon found to be very wisdom ; what I once hated most I soon began to love most ; and now I love it altogether. What a change ! How can I account for it ? On any natural principle I cannot, for every step that I was made to take was contrary to my previous natural wish and will. My progress was not that of earnest inquiry, but of earnest opposition. And to the last, my heart was opposed. *In spite of myself I became a Christian.* Surely some unseen power must have been guiding me. Surely this must have been what the Bible calls 'grace,' free grace, sovereign grace, and if ever there was an election of grace surely I am one."

Krishna Mohun Banerjea himself was the next. He desired that the lecture room in the missionary's house, which had been "the scene of all my public opposition to the true religion, should also be the scene of my public confession of it." He sought that there his still Hindoo friends, who had been strengthened in their unbelief by his arguments, might witness his "public recantation of all error and public embracing of the truth, the whole truth, as revealed in the Bible." The Rev. Mr. Mackay opened that service with prayer. Mr. Duff addressed and thus interrogated the catechumen :—“Do you renounce all idolatry, superstition, and all the frivolous rites and practices of the Hindoo religion ?” To this the Koolin Brahman replied : ‘I do, and I pray God that He may incline my countrymen to do so likewise.’ The second question was : ‘Do you believe in God the Father and Creator of all, in Jesus

varied and beautiful. Saw them at work, to my great amazement."

"The mission premises were bestowed as a gift by the Raja of Travancore, at the instigation of Colonel, now General Munro. The seminary is supported mainly from the proceeds of an endowment in land, granted in the same way. Having introduced the name of Munro, it is impossible not to advert to his successful administration of the country. When it had been reduced to the last extremity of anarchy and confusion the British Government assumed the administration. Colonel Munro was at once president and dewan, or prime minister; that is, really, autocrat or dictator. He accomplished wonders. He reduced what was most creditable in the most ancient Hindoo laws into a code, from the Sanskrit getting them interpreted into Malayalam. He divided the country into five zillahs, giving each a regular court of justice, with a court of appeal from them at Trevandrum, presided over by the dewan, as his representative; and also subordinate police agents throughout the country, under regular supervision and control. He settled also the revenue laws, and introduced some degree of fixity and order and equity. He encouraged improvements of every kind, especially intellectual, moral and religious. As there are so many Syrians and Papists, in the country, he secured the appointment of a Christian judge in every zillah court, where the first is usually a Brahman, and the second always a Christian, with a Brahman shastree or law expounder. He also secured the deciding of questions in which Christians were involved, by Christian law, not Hindoo. The spirit of this was meant to apply to converts from Hindooism. But though the constitution and the laws remain the same, everything depends on the administration, and now the practice is often in direct opposition to the law. Colonel Munro's policy was to give power and influence to the Christians, as an antagonistic power to the Brahmans; this led him to seek the revival of the Syrian Church, according to the scheme proposed by Dr. C. Buchanan. For this end he got from the Raja grants of land for endowments, and sums of money for building colleges, etc. The lands were worth more than a lakh of rupees.

"He was very decisive in his measures. He had to do with desperadoes, and he put them down with a high hand. The

place is still pointed out, between Aleppi and Quilon, where, when passing by the canal by night, his boat was shot at by robbers who knew not who was there. He was out instantly with his sepoy guard in pursuit; the robbers were seized and hung up in trees, on the very spot, to the wholesome terror of all robbers. His name is still everywhere spoken of; and associated with the pacification, the legislation, jurisprudence, police, education, of Travancore. An old Syrian katanar or priest, hearing I was from Scotland, earnestly asked me about Munro Saheb, whether he was alive and well, adding, 'Travancore, and especially the Syrians, never had such a friend!'

"In order to give a fair start to the new courts, he got Mr. Mead, missionary of the London Society, now of Neyoor, to become the Christian judge of the south-east coast, near Nagercoil; and Mr. Norton, of the Church Missionary Society, at Aleppi. The design was admirable; but it is questionable whether even the excellence of the object could justify an ordained missionary in becoming a civil judge. The plan did not succeed. The home society naturally disapproved of the measure; and Mr. Norton in particular was often heard to complain that, in spite of all vigilance and checks, bribes were constantly taken by subordinates, so that his name became associated with bribery and corruption, no very likely recommendation to his functions as a missionary. In the zillah where Mr. Mead was judge three or four thousand of the natives came forward to embrace Christianity. They were received on profession, as catechumens to be instructed. But, after Mr. Mead relinquished his judicial office, *almost all* of these quickly and unblushingly apostatized from their profession of Christianity, and re-embraced heathenism! *This is a pregnant fact!*"

After a curious account of the Brahmanical principality of Travancore, the old Syrian Church and the Jews of Cochin, Dr. Duff describes his third but long protracted effort to reach Ceylon, which he at last accomplished by native schooner from Tuticorin to Colombo. There the Rev. Dr. Macvicar, the chaplain, found him in the vestry in an exhausted state. He was able to study the missions and the administration

only in the southwest corner of the island. At a time before that crown colony had begun to prosper he wrote, "One collector and one judge at Palamcottah appear to govern Tinnevelli which has nearly as many people in it as Ceylon, much more quietly, peaceably and effectively." What delighted him most was the circulation in manuscript of an anonymous appeal to all the faithful in Christ Jesus throughout the world, to devote the first Sabbath of 1850 to united prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit for the diffusion of the gospel. He ascertained that the author was Mr. Murdoch, head-master of the Kandy Normal School. He published the appeal on his return to Calcutta with the remark, "No earnest missionary can peruse it without responding to the noble and magnanimous spirit of Moses, when told of Eldad and Medad prophesying in the camp :—' Envost thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His Spirit upon them.' "

Hardly had Dr. Duff returned to Calcutta in August, the worst part of the Bengal rainy season, when he made his preparations for the completion of his missionary survey of India. Early in October, when the first breath of the delightful cold weather of Northern India began to be felt, he took steamer up the Ganges, relieving the tedium of a voyage against its mighty current by clearing off the arrears of his correspondence. Many an epistle of touching affection and fatherly counsel did he send to the native converts and Hindoo students, and especially to the young Bengalee missionaries. At Benares he could contrast the Brahmanism of the Ganges with that of the Coleroon and the Cavery countries. At Agra and Futtehpore Sikri he saw the glories of Akbar and Shah Jahan. The latter place he thus described in a lady's album on his return to Scotland :

"About twenty-four miles to the west of Agra is a narrow ridge of sandstone hills, about three miles in length, called Futtehpore Sikri. There dwelt an aged Muhammadan saint, who was consulted by the celebrated Moghul Emperor Akbar, about an heir to his throne. Having reason to be satisfied with the result of the consultation, the Emperor, in order to secure the continual counsel and intercession of so holy a man, took up his abode at Sikri, covering the hill with superb buildings of red sandstone for himself, his family, his courtiers and public offices. The whole hill is now one enormous mass of ruins and rubbish, with the exception of the mosque and tomb of the old hermit. The mosque is one of the largest and most imposing in the world. Its chief gateway, one hundred and twenty feet in height and the same in breadth, facing the south, on the brow of the hill, is truly magnificent. Inside this gateway, on the right of the entrance, is engraved on stone in large characters, which stand out boldly in bas-relief, a remarkable sentence in Arabic. Literally translated it is as follows, 'Jesus, on whom be peace, has said, The world is merely a bridge; you are to pass over it and not to build your dwellings upon it.' There is no such sentence authentically recorded of Jesus; but it does embody the spirit of some of His teachings. As an Arabic tradition it is singular and striking. True in itself, the spectacle of ruins by which it was surrounded seemed to be the most emphatic commentary on its truth. It was with peculiar emotions that I gazed at this curious inscription, and then at the ruined edifices which once were imperial palaces and courtly establishments replenished with all the grandeur and glory of the greatest and wisest of Asiatic sovereigns. Poor Akbar! with all his magnificence he built his dwellings on the bridge; and now they are all gone! Let us take a lesson from the inscription and commentary of Futtehpore Sikri! Let us lay up our treasures in heaven; and through faith in the Divine Redeemer look forward to the mansions of everlasting light and glory there!"

Zigzagging up the Ganges and Jumna valleys, and visiting all the mission stations as well as historical and architectural sites, Dr. Duff reached the then little frequented sanitarium of Simla, in the secondary range

of the Himalaya. But he would not rest until he had penetrated five marches farther, to Kotghur, near the Upper Sutlej. That was then the most extreme station of the Church Missionary Society, although the Moravian brethren have since distanced it, by planting themselves in snow-encompassed Lahoul, near forbidden Thibet. The Simla commissioner ordered such arrangements of horses and bearers, that Dr. Duff made the journey to and from Kotghur in half the usual time. Not even Mr. Prochnow's mission seems to have interested him so much as the following incident, which he often afterwards applied. When on a narrow bridle path cut out on the face of a precipitous ridge, he observed a native shepherd with his flock following him as usual. The man frequently stopped and looked back. If he saw a sheep creeping up too far on the one hand, or coming too near the edge of the dangerous precipice on the other, he would go back and apply his crook to one of the hind legs and gently pull it back, till it joined the rest. Though a Grampian Highlander, Dr. Duff saw for the first time the real use of the crook or shepherd's staff in directing sheep in the right way. Going up to the shepherd, he noticed that he had a long rod which was as tall as himself, and around the lower half a thick band of iron was twisted. The region was infested with wolves, hyenas, and other dangerous animals, which in the night-time were apt to prowl about the place where the sheep lay. Then the man would go with this long rod, and would strike the animal such a blow as to make it at least turn away. This brought to the traveller's remembrance the expression of David, the shepherd, in the twenty-third Psalm, "Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me"—the staff clearly meaning God's watchful, guiding and directing providence, and the rod His omnipotence in defending His own from

foes, whether without or within. The incident showed that the expression is no tautology, as many of the commentators make it out to be.

Before the close of 1849 Dr. Duff reached Lahore, by Jellundhur and Umritsur. Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General before he was forty, and was then entering the Punjab. Sir Henry Lawrence had returned from his shortened furlough and was at the head of the new administration, with his brother John and Sir Robert Montgomery (after Mr. Mansell) as his colleagues. The second Sikh war had been fought, and the most triumphant success of British administration in the East was just beginning. Dr. Duff became Sir Henry's guest in Government House, of course, and many were the conversations they had on affairs public and private, missionary and philanthropic. On the last day of the year Dr. Duff thus wrote :

" Yesterday I had the privilege of preaching the everlasting gospel to an assembly of upwards of two hundred ladies and gentlemen, civil and military, in the great hall of the Government House, now worthily occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence, whose guest I have been since my arrival. And, as indicative of the *radicalness* of the change that is come over the firmament of former power and glory in this city, I may state that I had the option of holding public worship either in the Government House, formerly the residence (though now greatly enlarged) of the redoubted Runjeet Singh's French generals, or in the great audience or Durbar Hall of the Muhammadan Emperors and Sikh Maharajas. What a change ! The tidings of the great salvation sounding in these halls—once the abodes of the lords-paramount of the most antichristian systems and monarchies ! Surely, the Creator hath gone up before us, though in the rough and giant form of blood-

stained war. God in mercy grant that in these regions, so repeatedly drenched with human blood, men may soon learn to ‘beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks;’ and thus cultivate the arts of peace, and make progress in the lessons and practice of heavenly piety!

“ Many of our friends in these quarters have been very anxious that we should extend a branch of our mission to Lahore. And, if we did so, I doubt not that very considerable local support would be obtained. But it appears that the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Church, who have for years occupied many important stations in Northern India, had long contemplated the establishment of a mission at Lahore. For the promotion of this object two of their number reached this place some time ago; and already have some practical steps been taken in connection with their long-projected design. Such being the fact, let us rejoice that brethren, like-minded with ourselves not only in articles of faith but of discipline and government, have so seasonably and so vigorously entered on a field so vast and so promising. With thirty-five millions of unconverted heathen in the single province of Bengal, we can have little real temptation to rush into regions so remote, and so much less densely peopled. But let us, if possible, speedily spread out from our various centres until we pervade the whole land.”

There was another famous man in Lahore, then a young Scottish captain who had done such deeds in Afghanistan that Lord Dalhousie was consulting him about the new frontier finally fixed at Peshawur, and was sending him to be Brigadier in the Nizam’s country. Colin Mackenzie had raised the 4th Sikhs, and he was then bidding his sepoy children farewell. He and Duff were brother Highlanders, were brethren in Christ.

In her vivid journal Mrs. Colin Mackenzie has described the farewell parade, how Dr. Duff followed the gallant but sorely affected commandant, as he passed along every rank of the men drawn up in open column of companies, and witnessed a devotion on both sides such as has given India to Great Britain, and given it for Christ. Then to holy communion in the American chapel, just before he took boat down the Sutlej and Indus, clothed in the largo "postheen" or sheepskin presented to him by General Mackenzie.

Dr. Duff was amazed at the progress made, even at that early time, in the pacification and civilization of the Punjab, which forms the triumph of Dalhousie* and John and Henry Lawrence. In a letter full of detail

* The fact that the Marquis of Dalhousie's Diary and papers are shut up from publication till 1910, adds interest to this specimen of his letters to the officers who served him : " (Private), GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 13th Sept., 1852. MY DEAR MACKENZIE,—I have to thank you for two letters, one enclosing a memo. regarding Sir W. Macnaghten, the other on the Contingent. I am sorry you should have had any doubt regarding the propriety of addressing me on that subject. I have been long painfully conscious of the difficulties with which you have had to contend in common with the whole body. The peculiarity of our position at the Court of the Nizam, and the existence of this war, have lately combined to retard a remedy, but I hope to apply it before long. This expression of mine will, I am confident, not pass beyond yourself. As for taking the country, I fervently hope it will not be taken in my time, at least. It does not depend on *me*, as you seem to assume. Treaties can't be torn up like old newspapers, you know. The testimony to your wife's work must be doubly gratifying to you from its obvious impartiality, since Lord Ashley does not seem even to have known that it was her work. I hope she is better. Your Singhs are behaving beautifully—coming down wading rivers up to their necks, and carrying plump Captain Bean in his palkee through on their heads besides, all readiness and good humour—and I hear with 100 supernumeraries. They shall certainly go to the front. Yours always sincerely, DALHOUSIE."

" P.S.—I have omitted the acknowledgment of your handsome offer to serve with the corps brigaded. The arrangement you supposed has not been made however, and the 4th form part of an ordinary Brigade. D."

and description, written for the instruction of his younger son, he remarks that he now felt no hesitation in sailing down the Indus in a country boat, alone and unarmed—" save by prayer"—where, a short time before, lawless robber tribes infested the banks and life was in peril. When at the point nearest to Mooltan, yet sixty-two miles from the famous fort, he was hailed at noon by the driver of a riding camel, sent by friends to enable him to visit the city. In twelve hours he reached them, but at what a sacrifice those know best who have ridden a camel even for one. As he returned across country by Bhawulpore, he would have been gladdened could he have foreseen that one of his own converts would be appointed Director of Public Instruction in that long mis-governed Muhammadan principality, on the succession of a minor. Schools and railways, missionaries and British officers, civil and military, have since done for the Punjab and Sindh, more than any other province, under imperial Rome or Christian England has ever witnessed in the same brief period. And yet only a beginning has been made.

It was thus that the Bengal met the Bombay missionary, Dr. Wilson * having come as far as Schwan on the first missionary tour through Sindh.

“INDUS RIVER, February 4th, 1850.

“ Need I say with what intense feeling of delight we hailed each other, face to face, on the banks of that celebrated stream, and in a spot so isolated and remote from the realms of modern civilization—a spot never before trodden by the feet of two heralds of the Cross, but conspicuously displaying, among the edifices that

* *The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S. (Murray)*, page 248, second edition.

crown the rocky heights of Sehwan, the symbols of the Crescent; and as visibly exhibiting, in the scattered ruins and desolation all around, the impress of rapacious and shortsighted tyranny? Joyous was our meeting, and sweet and refreshing has been our intercourse since. How have our souls been led to praise and magnify the name of our God, for His marvellous and ineffable mercies! It is now ten years since we last parted in the neighbourhood of Bombay; and what centuries of events have been crowded into these ten years—alike in Europe and Asia, alike in Church and in State! And nowhere, assuredly, have the external changes been greater than in the regions which we are now traversing. A few minutes ago we passed Meance, a name which instantly recalled the strange series of events that terminated in the final overthrow of the Mussulman dynasties of Sindh, and added this once flourishing, but now greatly desolated realm to the vast Indian dominion of a Christian state. What a revolution already, with reference to the social and political relations of the people, and security of person and property! Lawless violence and anarchy, abusive rudeness and barbarism, have already been exchanged for peacefulness and established order, outward civility and respect."

At Bombay Dr. Duff roused the native city by an address on the necessity of the Christian element in education, even when conducted by the Government, which produced a long newspaper war but with the best results. The end of April is the time when there is a rush of home-going Anglo-Indians eager to escape the worst of the hot season. Dr. Duff could secure only "a den in the second lower deck," and had a fall on board. But the end of May saw him once more in Edinburgh, eager to begin his new crusade.

CHAPTER XX.

1850-1853.

DR. DUFF ORGANIZING AGAIN.

Foreign Mission Finance.—Retrenchment or Advance?—“Living Machinery.”—Dr. Duff tells how he prepared his Speeches.—General Assembly of 1850.—His Five Orations.—His Appeal for Men for India.—Rajahgopal.—Mr. Justice Hawkins.—Three and a Half Years of Organizing Toil.—His Success.—The Education Question in India.—With Dr. M’Neile.—Sermon to Twenty Thousand Welsh.—The Poor Helping him.—Tender Reminiscences.—Spiritual Breathings.—Great Meetings.—Highland Emigrants from Skye.—Suffering and Triumphing.—Stranraer and the New Hebrides Mission.—Loudoun and the Marchioness of Hastings.—Persecuted by Self-seekers.—New Missionaries.—Summons to the Young Men of London.

DR. DUFF found that he had returned to Scotland not a day too soon. There was urgently wanted for the Foreign Missions of the Free Church a financier in the best sense, one who could create a revenue self-sustaining and self-developing, as well as control expenditure so as to make it produce the best possible results. The financial management of religious and philanthropic organizations has been too often marked by the ignorance of mere enthusiasm on the one side, or the selfishness of dead corporations on the other. The men who have made the missionary enterprise of the English-speaking races one of the most remarkable features of the century’s progress since the French Revolution, have not always allowed economic law to guide them in their pursuit of that which is the loftiest of all ideals just because the Spirit of Christ has made it the surest

of realities. It is a lesson to all philanthropic agencies, that he who was the most spiritual of men and most fervid of missionaries, with a Celtic intensity of fervour, was at the same time most practical as an economist and far-sighted as an administrator. He had shown this in the establishment of his first school and college in Calcutta; he had proved it in his first home campaign of 1835-39, to which Dr. Chalmers had publicly acknowledged his indebtedness. Of both, all the material fruit, in subscriptions, legacies, buildings and capital endowments had been at once surrendered to the Established Church, when the civil authority decided in 1842—as it vainly reversed the decision in 1874—that the ‘residuaries’ legally formed the Church of Scotland. In Calcutta and Bengal he, his colleagues and his converts every one, re-created the college and made the new yet old Mission more prosperous than ever, with the sympathy and assistance of all the Evangelical churches. It was now necessary that he should repeat, in Scotland, the organizing toil of his previous campaign, if the Foreign Missions of the Free Church were to be worthy of its history and of the professions of its duty to the one Head of the Church Catholic.

Not that the Free Church had been illiberal, even to the missions abroad, in the first seven years of its operations. On the contrary, while contributing to Church History a new fact since the Acts of the Apostles, in what then appeared to all Christendom the marvellous contributions of a million of comparatively poor people, it had added to the original twenty Indian and Jewish missionaries with which it started, new fields in South Africa, in Central India, in rural Bengal and in Bombay. But while Chalmers, Guthrie and Dr. R. Macdonald created sustentation, manse and school funds, there was no one to put the foreign mission subscriptions

on an organized and self-acting system. When Dr. Duff was summoned home, after the death of Chalmers, the first annual deficit was met by "a week of collecting" in July, 1847, which yielded £5,500. Next year the ladies of the Church filled the gap between a growing expenditure and a stationary revenue. In 1849 the normal expenditure of ten thousand pounds, exclusive of much more met by friends in India, was raised, but on no certain plan which brought the people into the close harmony of knowledge, prayer and faith, with the missions. The missionaries themselves offered to take less than the merely subsistence allowance made to them, until the Church should have done its home work, rather than permit withdrawal from any station. The Cape Town mission was, indeed, given up, but only because its agent was transferred to the new Bengal station at Chinsurah. Mr. Anderson and the Rev. P. Rajahgopal were lighting up again in Scotland the missionary flame which Dr. Duff's first visit had kindled and Dr. Wilson's happy furlough at the Disruption had spread. A critic so good as Hugh Miller thus wrote of the Tamul convert, whom, remembering the Parsee minister Dhunjeebhoy, thousands crowded to see and hear: "One of the most remarkable speeches made in the Assembly was that by the young India convert and missionary, Rajahgopal. All that appeared to us, judging with the eye of a European, as defects in his appearance were speedily forgotten in the force of his oratory. His features began to glow with animation, a wondrous power seemed to pervade and breathe through all his frame, and his tones rang clear and full through the remotest corner of the great hall. Nor did we less admire his intellectual power." But while large sums were thus contributed for the more pressing wants of the Madras Mission, the genius of

a master was needed to call into existence a perennial supply for all. The £15,000 raised in 1847-48 was twice the normal annual revenue before the Disruption, but what guarantee was there for the future?

Before starting on his tour in South India, Dr. Duff thus referred to the financial outlook, in a private letter to his loyal friend Dr. Tweedie :

"I see you have had a discussion in the Edinburgh Presbytery on the subject of Associations. I truly sympathise with you in the midst of these waspish annoyances. I suppose it is part of the penalty which all must pay who strive with earnestness to push on God's great work in this world. Meanwhile the trial to mere flesh and blood is not small; but mighty is the grace and support of the Great Promiser. Your clear explanations cannot fail to have done good. The same mail brought a *Witness*,* containing an editorial which, from internal evidence, I think must be from the pen of Mr.

* Dr. Duff was, like all public men of that day who loved liberty, a grateful admirer of the *Witness* all the time it was edited by Hugh Miller. It is inexplicable that that newspaper should have been allowed to become extinct—its name and influence might be yet revived. Mr. Hugh Miller, of H.M. Geological Survey, has sent to us, too late for insertion in the proper place, the only letter from Dr. Duff preserved by his distinguished father. "CALCUTTA, June 2nd, 1845 (Private). MY DEAR SIR,—Though personally unknown to me, methinks that in all broad Scotland there is no one better known. Being, through the kind attention of my friend Mr. Johnstone, a reader of the *Witness* from its very commencement, it has often been in my heart to write to you. Not that I had anything particular to say, but having derived such unceasing gratification from the products of your pen, I often felt impelled to thank you as for a personal favour conferred. Often, when wearied and worn out by the never-ending ripple and attrition of labours in a strange field, have I been led to turn to the columns of the *Witness*, and there, in one or other of its fresh, racy and uniquely original editorials, have I often found a means of relaxation combined with profit. To you, Dear Sir, Scotland owes a debt of gratitude which, I fear, it neither will nor can ever repay. The Free Church in particular, if it be lawful to indulge in such heathenish though classical allusions, owes you a nobler than an Olympian crown. May the Lord uphold and bless you still more and more."

Lewis of Leith, on the subject of Associations. I think it admirable in spirit and conclusive in argument. I know this, that had I the means myself, I would print a hundred thousand copies of it and scatter it broadcast over the whole Church. I must say, that the Free Church cuts a sorry figure in the eyes of the missionary world, from having no provision of any kind made for the widows of those who jeopard their lives in the high places of the field, in the evangelistic service of the Church. My own trust has simply been all along in God, and therefore I have been silent on the matter; but on some the subject operates very depressingly.

"Since I last wrote a fine young man has come boldly out, and hitherto has resisted the importunities of friends. But the thought that your committee cannot employ any more as catechists, etc., operates most fatally in checking aspirations and preventing resolutions from being formed, at the time when the heart is warm and glowing—compelling, in fact, every young man, henceforward, to look to some secular calling as a means of livelihood. The Church prays and sighs for fruit; and when God gives it, she then, owing to her own penuriousness, deliberately flings it all away. This, I think, is sin, on account of which the Lord will visit her by withholding His blessing. Indeed, here and elsewhere, it looks as if there were ominous signs of His doing so already. In that case missionaries had better at once retire; and then let the faithless carnal ones see whether they can gather in the dribble now devoted to Missions, and add it to their own Subtentation Fund! I trow not, or if they do, as material comforts increase at the expense of Missions, spiritual blessings will be withheld from their own souls and those of their flocks. God will not thus be mocked. I sometimes feel as if it were cowardly faithlessness on my own part not plainly to speak out all this, and wash my hands of the whole guilt of it and retire to some other field of labour. For it stands to reason that, if moneys for spiritual work—work designed, through God, to convert souls—be given with a grudging, grumbling spirit, no real blessing can be expected. But I do believe that the grudging, grumbling spirit is very much confined to ministers of little faith, and carnal-minded deacons, who are better at keeping than giving money. I think the bulk of the donors give *con amore*, for Christ's sake; and that is my ground of hope in the

matter. Would to God that there were more prayer along with the money !

" Let me again say, now is the time to send us out a thorough educationist with a missionary spirit. A man of talent, acquired attainments, and especially conversant with improved methods of teaching, is needed more than I can tell. The work of this sort, which was once my delight, is far too much for me now; one hour of it now tells on my frame more than six hours of it was wont to do when I first landed on these shores. And yet without it we have no proper foundation—no prepared materials for higher teaching. I would therefore implore the committee to send us such a man, in lieu of the late Mr. Miller, of Chinsurah."

Amid the discomforts of sixteen days' imprisonment in a steerage berth, and during the rest of a few days at Southampton, he much revolved the remedy. When pacing the deck on his long Cape voyage in 1834 he had decided on Presbyterian Associations. Now, placing the support of a missionary to the heathen beside the "sustentation" of its own minister, as a spiritual duty equally imperative on every congregation, he aimed at weekly collections for both. Hurrying north to the General Assembly of 1850, after preaching in Regent Square Church, "to identify myself in spirit with our London friends," he thus again poured out his heart to Dr. Tweedie, on the 3rd of May :

" Tuesday, the 28th, would do well for our Missions. Could we not get the whole day for them ? How often is a whole day given to the discussion of a case of discipline ! And is too much to give to that of the greatest cause on earth ? There is your report ; Anderson, Nesbit, perhaps Rajahgopal, will speak, why not some other members of Assembly ? Then I would require at least two or three hours, to be able to say anything at all. If the whole day were given to the Mission, I would prefer to have the evening, so as to take up any matters that may have dropped during the day, etc.

For present, let me state a few things
 that appear to me desirable to be done. First: To
 appear a Church for past sins of negligence, with reference to the
 Redeemer's great command to evangelise the nations. This
 would, if done ~~con amore~~, go much to the root of our evils, and
 mellow people's hearts and open the windows of heaven.
 Second: Substitute regular weekly subscriptions for the an-
 nual collections, as the only stable and productive and becoming
 source of supply for a great and permanent undertaking.
 Third: Let the rule of proportion be better established, with
 reference to men's liberalities towards different objects.
 Fourth: Cut me off a county or a synod in which to give fair
 trial to the new experiment. There is no other way of fairly
 testing it. Occasional addresses and appeals go for nothing.
 I should like to see a living machinery established as a speci-
 men somewhere."

The "living machinery," the "stable and productive and becoming source of supply for a great and permanent undertaking," was created. Such was the effect of his spiritual suasion on the country, the elders and the ministers, that the demands which he made, in the name of his Master, were conceded in the form of a quarterly—not weekly—Association in every congregation. The whole ten days' meeting was so marked by the contagion of the enthusiasm of himself and his Madras and Bombay coadjutors that it was pronounced "a Foreign Missions General Assembly."

Before we proceed to the details of his crusade, let us look a little more closely at the oratorical weapon which he wielded. Since discussing the influences which moulded his rhetoric in 1835, we have received this account of his methods as given by himself in conversation with his children during the last months of his life. Beginning with a reference to his university experiences at St. Andrews he said: "Among my fellow-students were Dr. Lindsay Alexander; Dr. Robert

Lee; Dr. Arnot, of St. Giles's, Edinburgh; Dr. Forbes, the orientalist, and the three Craiks. In those days Robert Lee was as much of an Evangelical as myself, if not more. There were some finical notions he used to express which led me to expect his mind would take a turn that would prevent him from becoming a missionary. Henry Craik was about the noblest of the whole set. I had a letter from his daughter the other day, with a little volume of poems, sent to me because she knew the feeling of regard I had for her father. The three Craiks were most remarkable men in their way. George, whose aspirations were all towards literature, had made up his mind to support himself by literature. Some of his works are worth studying now; for instance, 'The Life of Lord Bacon,' a very remarkable book. He threw light on some points in Bacon's literary character, which I have not seen taken notice of by any other author. His life of Bacon used to be one of my resources in Calcutta, as supplying profitable suggestions. The second was James, a most upright exemplary character, afterwards minister of St. George's, Glasgow, who also had a great zeal for missions. I remember, on my first return from India, he was minister of Scone.

When I was at Perth, I used to walk out on a summer morning to the manse, to breakfast with him, and had conversations on missions which were always refreshing. I remember one morning in particular, in the course of conversation Craik said, 'There is one thing connected with your mental character, or how you go about preparing for public speaking, there is one thing which is always striking; it is this: they seem from beginning

Duff, 'there is one thing connected with your mental character, or how you go about preparing for public speaking, there is one thing which is always striking; it is this: they seem from beginning

on returning four or five years afterwards, it appeared as if something like an earthquake had passed over the social fabric of this country ; as if the accustomed manners and habits of the people had exhibited somewhat the aspect of a social chaos, and to it might figuratively be applied the words of a national poet—

‘Crags, rocks, and knolls confus’dly hurled,
The fragments of an earlier world.’

“ Since returning the last time, and looking about expecting to find greater social changes from the still greater earthquake which had passed over this land, especially in the Church department, it was the delight not only of myself but of others from abroad, to find that instead of such a chaos all things had quietly settled down and were progressing in harmony and in order ; that the old Church in its new and free form had risen up entire in all its organisms and complete in all its parts.” Now, he argued, that the machinery is perfect, apply it to foreign missions. “ When addressing the General Assembly fifteen years ago, my knowledge of India was comparatively limited. It is so no longer. I feel this night, if there were time and patience on the part of the House, and if strength on my part were vouchsafed, that it would be easier for me to speak for six hours than for one. If the Lord spare me and, I am privileged to visit different parts of the land, all I have gathered in connection with India shall be poured throughout Scotland in good time.”

His first speech, on the first business day of the Assembly, was on the report of the committee for the conversion of the Jews. As a missionary to the Gentiles he sought to express the intensity of his sympathies with a cause which is emphatically that of foreign missions. He told of his own Jewish converts ;

he described the last hours and Christian confession of the Rabbi whom, and whose family, he had baptized. He sketched the condition of the three Jewish settlements in Western and Southern India, and he pled for "harmony and earnest co-operation in promoting the spiritual and eternal welfare alike of Jews and Gentiles." On this the first occasion of addressing a General Assembly of the Free Church, he then asked the vast audience to bear with him while he poured out his testimony to the principles of spiritual and civil liberty for which the missionaries and ministers of the Disruption had sacrificed their all. Two days after, "as a colonist," he moved the adoption of the report on colonial and continental missions, telling the story of the Calcutta congregation, and advocating the claims of the Eurasians on the brotherhood of Englishmen as they had "never yet been pled before an ecclesiastical court in this land." He had still to sweep away another prejudice against the cause he represented, and yet it exists. Reminding the Church that he had, from the banks of the Ganges, long since volunteered the assertion that Dr. Chalmers's Sustentation Fund for the ministers "is the backbone of the whole ecclesiastical establishment," he said, "With the same intensity with which I wish to see all nations evangelised and the gospel carried to all lands, I would wish to see this and other sustentation funds augmented vastly beyond their present measure, so as not only to uphold the existing ministry at the present rate, but in the way of vastly greater competency; yea, and to see the fund increased so that it may maintain double the number of ministers, and overtake not only the existing religionism but the existing heathenism of the land."

Then in his fourth and fifth speeches he came to his own special subject of the India Mission. The

present writer remembers the time as that of his first experience of the orator's power. On each night, now swaying his arms towards the vast audience around and even above him, on the roof, and now jerking his left shoulder with an upward motion till the coat threatened to fall off, the tall form kept thousands spell-bound while the twilight of a northern May night changed into the brief darkness, and the tardy lights revealed the speaker bathed in the flood of his impassioned appeals. As the thrilling voice died away in the eager whisper which, at the end of his life, marked all his public utterances, and the exhausted speaker fell into a seat, only to be driven home to a couch of suffering, and then of rest barely sufficient to enable his fine constitution to renew and repeat again and again the effort, the observer could realize the expenditure of physical energy which, as it marked all he did, culminated in his prophet-like raptures.

In the midst of the speech of the 29th May, Dr. Tweedie took advantage of the climax which followed the description of the Seringham pagoda, to interrupt him. In truth, the leading men around him trembled for his life if he were to go on when it was near midnight, and in an atmosphere which could scarcely be breathed, and must be particularly oppressive to the eloquent speaker. The alarmed friend begged that the conclusion might be postponed. Dr. Duff was roused by the applause of the House to declare that he must go on; and he did so for two hours more, while not a hearer moved save to catch the almost gasping utterance towards the close. His last speech, introduced by a debate on Popery, after vividly describing the Jesuit order in India, and the Protestant Missions in the South, glided again into the loved theme of the Church's duty to the heathen. The Assembly had risen towards his ideal a little

nearer than in his letters to Dr. Tweedie he had ventured to expect. "Not only since the commencement of this Church in its present protesting form, but since the day, I may well and emphatically add, when the trumpet peal of victory sounded forth on the completion of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, there has not been manifested by any Assembly of the Church of Scotland such a vital interest in the cause of Missions as has been manifested by this Assembly. Night after night has been devoted to the consideration of missionary objects." Spoken by a Highlander to a Scottish audience, this passage produced an effect which we have never seen equalled in any audience, popular or cultured :

"In days of yore, though unable to sing myself, I was wont to listen to the Poems of Ossian, and to many of those melodies that were called Jacobite songs. I may now, without any fear of being taken up for high treason or for rebellion, refer to the latter, for there never was a Sovereign who was more richly and deservedly beloved by her subjects than she who now sits on the throne of Great Britain—Queen Victoria—and there are not among her Majesty's subjects any men whose hearts beat more vigorously with the pulse of loyalty than the descendants of those chieftains and clansmen who a century ago shook the Hanoverian throne to its foundation. While listening to these airs of the olden time, some stanzas and sentiments made an indelible impression upon my mind. Roving in the days of my youth over the heathery heights, or climbing the craggy steeps of my native land, or lying down to enjoy the music of the roaring waterfalls, I was wont to admire the heroic spirit which they breathed; and they became so stamped in memory that I have carried them with me over more than half the world. One of these seemed to me to embody the quintessence of loyalty of an earthly kind. It is the stanza in which it is said by the father or mother,—

" 'I hae but ae son, the brave young Donald ;'

and then the gush of emotion turned his heart as it were inside out, and he exclaimed,—

‘But, oh, had I ten, they would follow Prince Charlie.’

Are these the visions of romance—the dreams of poetry and of song? Oh, let that rush of youthful warriors, from ‘bracken, bush, and glen,’ that rallied round the standards of Glenfinnan,—let the gory beds, and cold, cold grassy winding-sheets of bleak Culloden Muir bear testimony to the reality, the intensity of the loyalty to an earthly prince; and shall a Highland father and mother give up all their children as an homage to earthly loyalty, and shall I be told that in the Churches of Christ, in the Free Church of Scotland, fathers and mothers will begrudge their children to Him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords? Will they testify their loyalty to an earthly prince, to whom they lie under very little obligation, by giving up all their sons, while they refuse, when it comes to the point of critical decision, even one son for the army of Immanuel, to whom they owe their life, their salvation, their all? Surely, if this state of things be continued, we may well conclude that we are in an age of little men, and that with all our loud talkings we have not risen beyond the stature of pygmies in soundness, or loyalty, or devotedness to our heavenly King. Oh, then, let this matter weigh heavily on our minds. I have been affected beyond measure during the last twelve months at finding, from one end of India to the other, monuments of British dead. In a solitary place at Ramnad, on the banks of the Straits of Palk that overlook Ceylon—a place entirely out of the way—I was deeply affected to find a humble tombstone erected to the memory of a young officer brought up on the braes of Athole, in a parish adjacent to my own. I thought the father and mother of this young man had no objection to send out their son here in search of military renown, only to find his grave; but probably they would have refused him to the service of Christ as a humble missionary of the Cross. From one end of India to the other the soil is strewn with British slain or British dead. There is not a valley, nor dell, nor burning waste, from one end of India to the other, that is not enriched with the bones, and not a rivulet or stream which has not been dyed with the blood of Scotia’s children. And will you,

fathers and mothers, send out your children in thousands in quest of this bubble fame—this bubble wealth—this bubble honour and perishable renown, and will you prohibit them from going forth in the army of the great Immanuel, to win crowns of glory and imperishable renown in the realms of everlasting day? Oh, do not refuse their services—their lives if necessary—or the blood of the souls of perishing millions may be required at your hands. Fathers and mothers are not responsible for grace in the hearts of their offspring, but they are responsible for using the means in their power; and I now refer only to those who habitually discourage their sons and daughters, and throw obstacles in the way, when they would enter the missionary field, while they would hurl them forth to battle and to death."

The Assembly of 1850 was remarkable for the addresses, not only of Dr. Duff, Mr. Nesbit of Bombay, Mr. Anderson of Madras, and his first convert, the Rev. P. Rajahgopal. The distinguished Bengal civilian and lawyer, Mr. Justice Hawkins, who passed away within the last year, vindicated the system of Dr. Duff as the peculiar glory of the Scottish Missions, and gave his honorary services as the home secretary of the congregational associations about to be formed for their extension. Citing as a further authority the evangelist, who, after opposing that system when a London minister, had devoted the rest of his life to working it, he said, "I remember when speaking on this subject to the dearest friend I ever had, the late John Macdonald, he observed, 'Were our Church alone the Church of Christ in this land, were missionary operations confined to us, I would then desire to see our Church diverting some of her present strength from teaching to the more direct preaching of the Word. But in looking on all the various sections combined as forming the Church of Christ, and in seeing others chiefly engaged in preaching, is it not a sufficient answer to objectors to

say that both means are necessary, and that we by teaching are supplementing what is wanting in their system?' But there is a reason of greater weight still, and that is what our young friend from Madras (Rajahgopal) has well pointed out. The mere preaching of the Word would not have reached the vast majority of the people. The better classes will not attend the preaching of the missionary; the only way in which they can be reached is by the agency of such Institutions as those of the Free Church. Rajahgopal declared that, but for your Institution in Madras, he would, humanly speaking, have been a heathen still, for in the days of his darkness he would never have gone near a preacher of the truth."

Before the most solemn and pathetic act when the Moderator, the whole House and audience standing, speaks: "Reverend Fathers and Brethren, as this Assembly was constituted in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the sole King and Head of His Church, I am now called, in His holy and blessed name, to pronounce it dissolved"; and all unite in singing the rugged strains of Rous's version of the 133rd Psalm, the last resolution was this: "The Assembly instruct the committee to take steps for bringing the subject of Foreign Missions fully before the mind of the Church, and that in such a way as may be arranged between the committee and the synod or presbytery which Dr. Duff or the other brethren may agree to visit. The Assembly appoint these visitations to begin with the synod of Perth, and after that has been overtaken, to be extended from synod to synod, as circumstances may direct, until they shall, if possible, have gone over the whole bounds of the Church."

For the next three and a half years Dr. Duff gave himself to the creating of his new organization—an association for prayer, information, and the quarterly

collection of subscriptions for the Missions in every one of the then 700 and now 1,040 congregations of the Free Church of Scotland. In 1835-39 he had addressed the seventy-one presbyteries and the larger congregations only, all over Scotland. Now he undertook, and accomplished, the still more serious task of exhorting and informing not only a new generation of presbyteries, but every congregation, however humble, or distant, or difficult of access. He must put every member, adherent, and even Sunday scholar, *en rapport* with the Master's work in India and Africa. His first crusade, and all that Chalmers and Guthrie had since done both before and after the Disruption, had educated the people into giving as no section of the universal Church had done since Barnabas had sold his all. What was wanted was such intelligence on the part of a new race of ministers and elders that the free-will offerings of the half of the Scottish nation, Highland and Lowland, might systematically flow out beyond the bounds of sect and party into the wider and truly catholic region of their Indian and African fellow-subjects. He had to teach his own countrymen, and especially his fellow-ministers, a second lesson in Christian economics. Chalmers, like Inglis, was gone; save Dr. Gordon, advancing in years, and Dr. Tweedie, then inexperienced, there was none to raise the Church to a still higher level by a foreign or imperial policy greater than that of the noblest statesmen of earth because divine. "I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession," was the charter to which he appealed.

In his own country, as in India, separated from his family then requiring most of all a father's care; in winter and in summer; in weariness and often in pain; cast down by discouragements, but more

see privately some of the leading members of the court, that may be most open to conviction; next to place a statement on the subject before the court as a remedy—since, were the court to take up the matter, and resolve to do substantially what is required, there would be no occasion for agitating the country at all. While, however, I deem this the most Christian course in itself, and the most respectful to the court, I confess I have no very sanguine expectation that it will take action in the right direction, unless constrained to do so by ‘the pressure from without.’ But our having tried the quieter and more peaceful mode first, will give us, in the eye of the public, a great advantage should an appeal to its verdict be rendered necessary.”

We shall see, in the next chapter, that the very effectual pressure of Parliament and prolonged public discussion were required to secure the concession of justice. We now confine the narrative to Dr. Duff’s revelations of himself and his work in brief letters to his wife, written in all the haste of incessant travel and public meetings. The spiritual breathings show the source of the energy which, while it fed the Church and attracted the world, ever renewed his youth till the last hour, according to the old promise to those who thus wait on the Lord: “they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint.”

CARNARVON, 10th Sept., 1851.—“On Tuesday forenoon I had a long and animated interview with the celebrated Dr. McNeile, of Liverpool. We both harmonized famously on the whole subject of Popery, and so had an exhilarating conversation. Missions too, and prophecy, the preparatives to the millennial glory, were fully discoursed of—agreeing fully on all points, but agreeing to differ as to dogmatic views on the personal advent and reign of Christ; Dr. McNeile seeing his way to be very positive on that head, while I do not. But he spoke with exceeding candour and forbearance, and so we parted full of warm expressions of mutual regard and goodwill; Dr. McNeile again and again thanking me for the visit, and saying he was rejoiced and strengthened

by what he heard, from me, with many more complimentary things besides.

"This morning, at nine o'clock, attended a meeting of the Welsh Conference. They were putting questions to five candidates for the ministry, in Welsh. Suddenly I was asked by the Moderator to address them on the duties of the ministry, in English, which, by God's help, I attempted to do.

BANGOR, 13th Sept.—"Yesterday, at two o'clock, I preached to the largest audience I ever addressed in this world—amounting by computation to between fifteen and twenty thousand people! At the synod meetings of the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales there are open-air preachings, at which some of their more popular men officiate. On the present occasion the place chosen was a green park behind the city of Carnarvon—being a continuation of the upward acclivity on which the town is built. It looks to the west on the Menai Straits and the Isle of Anglesea—the small hill of Holyhead, whence the Irish packet sails, in the distant west. To the north-east, east, and south-east, are the lofty Welsh hills, Snowdon distant only eight or nine miles. At the foot of the park a temporary stage is erected for the preacher and fifty more, covered over with canvas above, and all around except the front. The people assemble all around and underneath this platform, stretching out some hundreds of yards on either side of it, and from this extended base line crowding up in front to the upper end of the park, like a compacted cone or pyramid of living heads. From the platform the spectacle exhibited is a very exciting and wonder-striking one.

"On Wednesday there were two sermons here in the afternoon. But yesterday was the great day. Never was there a clearer sky in these British isles, nor a warmer sun at this season of the year, than yesterday at Carnarvon. From ten to one o'clock—prayer, psalms, and two sermons. Then an hour's interval for the people to retire for refreshment. A little before two, the broad street leading up to the park was a living moving stream of human beings; every second person carrying a chair aloft—holding it by the back, the four legs pointing to the zenith, to prevent accidents. At two o'clock the great living cone or pyramid was formed. It is astonishing how densely they were packed, and more men than women, making allowance for the hat-wearing women.

to attend alike in private and in public. But having a work to accomplish, I am bent on overtaking it, looking to Him who rides on the wings of the wind, for protection and support. Yesterday continued tempestuous; the public meeting was at half-past six; an what between the commixtion of terrene elements underneath, and of liquid elements overhead, and a s~~u~~incumbent darkness like that of Egypt, it was no easy matter to work our way into the church. On arriving there I was astonished to see so large an audience on such a night of darkness and of storms. I hailed it as a token for good; and though in much weakness bodily, felt greatly cheered in spirit. There is a latent leaven, a deposit from covenanting times, in that region still, which is beginning to show some signs of incipient fermentation. It was to the cross of Sanquhar that Cameron affixed his famous Declaration, and subsequently Renwick affixed his—the Declarations adhesion to, or repudiation of which, was the *judicial test* for convicting or acquitting the Covenanters of the alleged crime of disloyalty or high treason. The cross itself was taken down a good many years ago, in improving the burgh. The top stone of it was taken possession of by one of the workmen, in whose house it was used as a stool for the children at the ingle-side. This being known, some of the Free Churchmen obtained it for a consideration; and now it is set over the porch of the Church, as if to symbolize to the eyes of sense the fact that the Free Church is the body which has taken up and perpetuated the principles for which the heroes of the Covenant suffered and died! Of the doings and sufferings of these men, of whom the world was not worthy, the whole neighbourhood abounds with traditions handed down from sire to son. Sanquhar lies about the centre of the counties of Lanark and Dumfries, Galloway and Ayr, in the mountain wildernesses and remote solitudes of which the storm of persecution chiefly raged, as it was among the almost endless ~~age~~ labyrinthine moors and mosses, glens and ravines, thickets ~~in~~ forests, caves and dens of these upland wilds, that the fugitives from a savage persecution sought refuge. This ~~had~~ to the celebrated saying of Renwick, that 'the moors and mosses of the west of Scotland were flowered with martyrs, and that if God would be confined to a place, it would be these wildernesses.' The vivid recalling of all these scenes greatly

affected my own spirit, and seemed to vibrate through every fibre of my being, imparting a peculiar hue to my thoughts, and intonation to my words in utterance.

STEWARTON, 28th November.—“Friday evening was most tempestuous at Loudoun, and the night seemed the very blackness of darkness. The modern village is called Newmilns, the old one having been removed to clear and enlarge the parks of Loudoun Castle. It contains about 2,500—mostly weavers, and nearly half of them avowed infidels and notorious drunkards! It is really awful to hear of such a state of things anywhere in Scotland. Once on a time the people of Loudoun were religious—fought bravely for the Covenant; while the earl was foremost in the good cause, his name being attached to the Covenant. But a succession of moderate ministers sucked the very life-blood out of the people; and in two or three generations, the descendants of godly ancestors lapsed into the brutalities of heathenism. Mr. Noble, our minister, who is married to a Ross-shire lady, is a truly good man, and is, thank God, succeeding in making an impression on the mass. On Friday evening, I was amazed to see so many turn out—mostly men too!—with the pale, lank countenances of the loom and its confined atmosphere. More intense attention there could not be.

“Dr. Laurie’s (of Madras) father and grandfather were ministers of Loudoun—both Moderates. By the way, did I ever tell you the tragic story he related to me about the last Earl of Loudoun, father of the last Countess of Loudoun who became Marchioness of Hastings, and virtual queen of India for some years. When Laurie’s grandfather was minister, the earl attended in church on the sabbath-day as usual. At the close of the service, he asked (what he never did before) the minister to accompany him to dine at the castle. This the minister stoutly refused to do, as he had made a rule of never dining out on the sabbath. The earl importuned, the minister still declined. At last the earl said, ‘At any rate you’ll not refuse a drive to the manse?’ The road to the castle happening to pass close to the manse, this the minister could not well decline. So they drove on. As they approached the manse the minister reminded the earl, that he might ask the coachman to stop. But instead of this, he urged the coachman to quicken the horses’ pace towards the castle.* The minister being thus carried thither, in spite of

himself, thought it as well to stay to dinner, as the earl was alone. By one means and another the earl contrived to keep him all night at the castle. At dawn the minister was up and out, and on his way down the lawn, when he heard the report of a gun from the castle. He turned back, saw the servants in commotion; hastened where he saw them rushing, and soon was in the earl's bedroom, on the floor of which he lay weltering in his blood—and soon died—a suicide! Then, from a document on his table, it was found that he committed his only child, then an infant of about five years of age, to the sole care and guardianship of Laurie, the minister! This was the after Marchioness of Hastings! And the unhappy father had evidently wished that the minister should be in the castle at the time of the tragic event, that he might be more affected and drawn towards the fatherless child! Of course Laurie did his best to discharge a trust so extraordinarily committed to him. What is title, what is fortune, what is noble descent, if the spirit of wisdom and of grace and of a sound mind be wanting! Let us thank God, and learn, in whatever state we are, therewith to be content.

KILMARNOCK, 5th December.—“We had a large meeting in the spacious kitchen of Percoton House on Saturday evening, when the missionary boxes of Sabbath school children were opened and I addressed old and young on the subject of Missions. Being crowded, it was very stirring and interesting. Real good was done, and that always is a recompense to me for any extra labour or fatigue. The exercises were very refreshing; Main’s sermon admirable. I partook of the communion with great joy, and in the evening preached to a huge and dense multitude. The church being much heated I came home dripping. Throughout the night, being very restless and half awake, the enemy took advantage of my physical weakness to tempt me with wretched thoughts and horrid dreams! How I longed for the morning! My prayer was to Him who said, ‘Get thee behind Me, Satan,’ and I rose unrefreshed in body, and cast down and disquieted in mind. This forenoon Mr. McFarlane of Monckton, son of the late Dr. McFarlane of Greenock, preached on John’s Gospel vi. 16–21, and made many remarks singularly applicable to my state of mind. I felt it to be an answer to prayer; and sinking as I felt myself in the deep waters, I seemed to hear the voice of the

Redeemer, 'Fear not, it is I,' and the 'Oh ye of little faith' from those gracious lips at once reproved and uplifted me. Praise be to His holy name! At half-past two I met the body of collectors connected with the three congregations, and addressed them with much comfort for an hour. A goodly number of friends are to be here to dinner at four; and this evening I return to Perceton, and to-morrow meet the Ayr presbytery. I am dunned and pestered beyond measure with applications to speechify, preach, etc., for all sorts of things under the sun. Besides those forwarded by you I received many more directly. Really, it consumes the languishing remnant of my life blood to be answering these, as I must do, for the most part in the negative.

Ayr, 9th December.—“We have had great doings here. The people are all in a blaze, alike about home and foreign objects. They were in a very sleepy state. But the Lord has given me astonishing freedom of speech amongst them. And it has evidently been blessed. To me, personally, it is very exhausting. But I grudge nothing when I see good fruit. Last night the public meeting, which began at seven, did not break up till eleven o'clock! I have yet a good deal of work before me. To-day I return to Perceton, on my way to the higher parts of Ayrshire—Catrine, Old Cumnock, etc.

“After I wrote to you from Kilmarnock I half repented of having done so. But the truth is, that it is some relief to the mind to get itself disburdened. And to whom can I disburden it, if not to you—the partner of my joys and sorrows for nearly a quarter of a century? No one can ever fully know how much I often suffer, both in mind and body, in the midst of these frequent, prolonged, and violent exertions. And to none but yourself can I ever moot the subject except in the vaguest and most general terms. In the excitement of speaking, the spirit forgets the fragility of the body; and therefore, people think me strong. Ah, if they could see me in my solitary chamber, all alone, after such meetings as last night, their congratulations on my supposed strength would be exchanged for downright commiseration. The whole frame feverish—the whole nervous system, from the brain downwards, in a state of total unrest. The very tendency to sleep gone. Going to bed, as this morning, at half-past one, not from sleepiness but from inability to sit up longer through

exhaustion. Turning and tossing from side to side, and longing for sleep. Then drowsiness, and half-sleep, and horrid dreams, and longing for the morning's dawn. Getting up disquieted and unrefreshed, to meet a company at breakfast—with aching head besides, and sorish throat. Necessity for appearing as pleasant as may be, so as not to damp or discourage others; and every effort in this way only increasing the pain. But enough; I must say no more on such a subject. Yet, the Lord be praised! in the midst of all this I have gleams and intervals of real spiritual enjoyment. Indeed, when most weak and pained, often is that enjoyment proportionally increased. And then, the favour which the Lord shows me in the sight of His people, and the good so often unexpectedly achieved—all this makes me feel that what I suffer is the discipline of a Father's rod to keep me humble in walking before Him.

"I am alarmed at what you say about the statements in the American paper. • Such things often exceedingly vex and annoy me. It is all well enough to thank God for any instruments *He* may raise up. It is quite another matter to speak or write of them in exaggerated terms amounting to flattery, and so far, to a disparagement of the great Giver. At public meetings I have usually got quit of such things by commencing at once my address when the prayer ends. But sometimes (not often) the minister praying has taken it into his head formally to introduce me to the audience; and then to speak of me in a way that has disturbed and discomposed my spirit. In such cases I am always conscious of not getting on half as well as when I am allowed to begin without a word being said about me."

All over Scotland and in many a manse there are still grateful memories of these tours. Among others the Rev. T. Main, then of Kilmarnock and now of Free St. Mary's, Edinburgh, and convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, thus recalls the time :

"The weeks during which it was our privilege to have Dr. Duff under our roof formed a happy time. He grew in our affection and admiration. To sympathise with him in his work went straight to his heart.

He lived a most laborious life. His days were spent in his room in writing papers and conducting correspondence. At this time he was busily engaged in matters connected with the Indian Despatch of 1854, which entailed on him a great amount of toil. He kindly gave his evenings to us, pouring forth an amazing wealth of information. In doing so he was unconsciously revealing a most capacious memory, an observant eye and a loving heart. One of the chief difficulties that stood in the way of the formation of Associations, was the burden of pecuniary responsibility that rested on most if not all of the congregations. Dr. Duff felt its force, and set himself with self-denying devotedness to render assistance in helping to clear it out of the way. I have never seen any one so singularly sensitive as he. The effect was immediate. A want of sympathy repelled him, the reverse attached and drew him out. This was not the result of self-consciousness from the consideration of the position he occupied and what was due to himself; it was an instinct of his moral nature. It was not he, but Christ that throbbed within him, his whole frame vibrating with the very sympathies of Christ. It must have been to him no ordinary trial, with his exalted sense of the magnitude of the enterprise, its close connection with the glory of Immanuel and the salvation of the myriads of lost sinners, to be brought into contact with the chilling atmosphere that prevailed around, and the grievously defective estimate of its surpassing importance.

"His meeting with the Ayr presbytery did not realize his expectations, for while the brethren received him with the utmost possible respect, they did not see their way to adopt his plan of a quarterly contribution. He returned so sunk in spirit, that although we had a large party to meet him at dinner he scarcely opened

his lips. On the way to the evening meeting Mrs. Main assured him that all would come right, that he would have a large and enthusiastic gathering. The church was crowded; the spectacle inspired him, and he poured forth one of his most fervid and impassioned appeals. One of my deacons who sat beside me said, ‘Did you ever hear anything like that? it is like Paul pleading for the heathen world.’ As I had not consulted with my office-bearers, I had no intention of forming a Foreign Mission Association that evening, but as Dr. Duff went on I felt that it would be to lose a most precious opportunity if I failed to do so. As Dr. Duff pronounced the benediction I ascended the pulpit, and summoned those of them who were members to remain behind for the purpose of forming an association. • We met in large numbers. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed, with the result of trebling the contributions from the congregation. As we walked home Dr. Duff was like another man, his heart was filled with joy and his tongue with melody.

“The exhaustion of such a long day’s work was very great, but instead of retiring to rest he was accustomed to sit in his room till sleep overtook him, otherwise he would have spent a feverish and sleepless night. Although it was not till three in the morning that he lay down, he appeared at breakfast as fresh and cheerful as possible.

“A little incident occurred that evening which very deeply affected him. One of my people in humble life made her way to the vestry and asked me to secure for her the privilege of shaking hands with Dr. Duff. I gladly did so. Her heart was full, and she gave brief but expressive utterance to her feelings. On parting she left a sovereign in his hand for the cause. When I told him how scanty and precarious her subsistence was, it awakened within him a thrill of deep emotion.

He often referred to it as an illustration of the greatness of the sacrifices made by the poorest of the people for the cause of Christ."

So ends 1853, and the campaign. But, as if these toils were not enough for soul and body, continued for the four years which followed on the South and North India tours of 1849, the unwearied apostle of India was busy at the same time in seeking and sending out new missionaries, like Mr. and Mrs. Fordyce, and Messrs. T. Gardiner and Pourie, to Calcutta; in lecturing to the Young Men's Christian Association in Exeter Hall, side by side with R. Bickersteth, Stowell, Baptist Noel, James Hamilton, Brock, Arthur and Candlish; in undergoing frequent and long examinations before the India Committee of the House of Lords; in helping the British and Foreign Bible Society to conduct its Jubilee in 1853, and raise a Jubilee fund; and, finally, in discharging the onerous duties of Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly. His Exeter Hall lecture on "India and its Evangelization" is an illustration of the skill with which he adapted himself to such an audience as the young men of London. After eighty pages of a succession of pictures of travel, expositions of the hoary creeds and rituals of the East, descriptions of the administration of the British Government and statements of the power and progress of Christianity, he burst forth into this peroration:

"Strive to realize the height and grandeur of your obligation to the millions of India's poor, cowering, abject children; millions laid helplessly prostrate at our feet by a series of conquests the most strange and unparalleled in the annals of all time; millions once torn asunder by relentless feuds and implacable hatreds, now bound together, and bound to us, by allegiance to a common Government, submission to common laws,

and the participation of common interests ! Here is a career of benevolence opened up unto you, worthy of your noblest ambition and most energetic enterprise. Shrink not from it on the ground of its magnitude or difficulties. In contests of an earthly kind confidence in a great leader, with the heart-stirring traditions of ancestral daring and prowess, have heretofore kindled shrinking cowardice into the fire of an indomitable valour. When, about half a century ago, our gallant but vain-glorious neighbours boastfully pointed to ‘the rout of all the armies and the capture of almost all the capitals in Europe,’ as a proof of the invincibility of their own arms, and the utter hopelessness of any further resistance or defence, the historian of Europe tells us that their old rivals, the English—at first well-nigh paralysed by the halo of uninterrupted success that surrounded their foes—began to revive when they beheld ‘the lustre of former renown shining forth, however dimly, amid the blaze of present victory.’ When the names of Cressy and Agincourt and Blenheim came up before them in freshest remembrance, they could calmly point to ‘the imperishable inheritance of national glory ;’ their soldiers, their citizens, were alike penetrated with these recollections ; the exploits of the Edwards and the Henrys and the Marlboroughs of former times, ‘burned in the hearts of the officers and animated the spirit of the people.’ Hence, the nation at length rose as one man to repel the danger of Napoleon’s threatened invasion ; and hence, speedily, the addition of Salamanca and Vittoria, Hugomont and Waterloo, to the long register of England’s military renown ; and of the name of Wellington as the greatest in the bright roll of her warriors.

“ But England has had other battles, and other warriors, and other exemplars, nobler still,—nobler

still in the eye of Heaven and the annals of eternity, however humble and unworthy in the eye of carnal sense and the records of short-lived time. And it is to these that you are now to look, when invited to enter on a nobler warfare—a warfare not physical or material, but moral and spiritual; a warfare not with humanity itself, but with the evils that plague and exulcerate it; a warfare not with men's persons, but with their ignorance, their follies, their errors, their superstitions, their idolatries, and their deadly sins; a warfare with the springs and causes of all other warfare; a warfare whose ends and issues will be, the extirmination of these springs and causes with their fatal consequences; a warfare not for the destruction of any, but for the regeneration of the whole race of man; a warfare one of whose richest trophies will consist in men's beating their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, in nation's not lifting up sword against nation, neither learning the art of war any more! And if, in entering on a warfare so high, so holy, so heavenly, and yet so arduous, a warfare with legions of foes, that have stood their ground for thousands of years, won a thousand victories, entrenched themselves behind a thousand battlements, and reared their standard on a thousand fortresses that frown defiance over the nations; if, in entering on a warfare so terrible, ye are apt to be dispirited and cast down, lift up your eyes, and fix your gaze on the lustre of former renown. In this highest and noblest department of human warfare, ye may, with rapt emotions, point to another 'imperishable inheritance of national glory.' Ye may point to the illustrious company of England's sages and worthies, the noble army of her martyrs, and the ten thousand scenes that have been consecrated by their testimony and their blood. Ye may point to Wycliffe, the morning star of the Refor-

mation, whose ashes, as noted by the historian, in the execution of an empty insult, were exhumed and thrown into a neighbouring brook—‘the brook conveying them into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, and these into the main ocean; thus converting the ashes into an emblem of the Reformer’s doctrine, which is now dispersed all over the world.’ Ye may point to Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, at whose stakes were lighted a fire, which, according to their own prophetic utterance, by God’s grace, ‘will never be put out in England.’ Ye may point to the Miltos and the Bunyans, the sages and the seers of the Commonwealth and Restoration. Ye may point to the Howards and Wilberforces, who irradiated the dungeon’s gloom, and struck his galling fetters from the crouching slave. Ye may point to the Martyns and the Careys, the Williams and the Morrisons, who, spurning the easier task of guarding the citadel at home, jeopardised their lives in the high places of the field, when boldly pushing the conquests of the cross over the marshalled hosts of heathendom. And, when ye point to all of these and ten thousand more, tell me if their undying achievements do not burn in your hearts and animate your spirits, and incite your whole soul, with inextinguishable ardour, to deeds of similar daring and of deathless fame? Or,—oh, mournful alternative! is the spirit, the redoubted spirit, of Wycliffe now gone from amongst us? Is the light of Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, now beginning to be shrouded in darkness? Is the seraphic fire of Milton and of Bunyan for ever extinguished? Has the mantle of Howard and of Wilberforce dropped to the earth, and found no one able, or willing, or worthy, to take it up? Is there no soul of Martyn, or Carey, or Morrison left behind? or is their unquenchable zeal buried with their mouldering ashes in the *sepulchre?

And when the distant wail of the perishing in other lands, deadened in its passage by ocean's waves to the ears of sense, sounds piercingly in the ear of faith, where is the successor of the martyr of Eramanga?—is echo still left to answer, Where?—and again mournfully to reduplicate, Where? Forbid it, O gracious Heaven! Arise then, ye Christian young men of England, and vindicate at once the reality and purity of your descent from the sages, the prophets, the worthies, and the martyrs of this favoured Patmos isle, by buckling on their armour, nerving yourselves with the energy of their faith and self-sacrifice; marching like them, when duty calls, into the battle-field, and burning for the posts of danger where these foremost warriors fell! In the hour and crisis of England's peril, the greatest of her naval captains hoisted the watchword of death or victory, in words familiar but immortal,—‘England expects every man to do his duty.’ In this the hour and crisis, not of England's peril merely, but of the world's agony and travail, well may we raise the standard, emblazoned with the watchword, ‘The Church of Christ—Christ Himself, the great Head of the Church—expects every man, every professing member and disciple, to do his duty.’

“Arise then, ye Christian young men of England, and, under the banner of the great Captain of salvation, rally your scattered forces! Resolve, as if ye sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that ye shall re-exhibit to an admiring world the deeds of bygone heroism and renown. With such a Divine leader to guide you, such ennobling examples to inspirit you, and such a brilliant cloud of witnesses encompassing you all around—the final conquest is certain, the victory sure. Arise then, ye Christian young men of England, and through you let the terrors of fire and sword, the faggot and the stake,

be warded off from these peaceful shores—the asylum of the persecuted of all lands—the Thermopylæ of the old world's endangered liberties! Through you, let the store-houses of British beneficence be opened for the needy at home and the famishing abroad. Through you, let Britain discharge her debt of gratitude and love to the ascending Saviour, her debt of sympathy and goodwill to all nations. More especially, through you, let her discharge her debt of justice, not less than benevolence, to India, in reparation of the wrongs, numberless and aggravated, inflicted in former times on India's unhappy children. In exchange for the pearls from her coral strand, be it yours to send the Pearl of great price. In exchange for the treasures of her diamond and golden mines, be it yours to send the imperishable treasures of Divine grace. In exchange for her aromatic fruits and gums, be it yours to send buds and blossoms of the Rose of Sharon, with its celestial fragrancy. In exchange for the commodities and dainties that luxuriate the carnal taste, be it yours to send the heavenly manna, and the water of life, clear as crystal, to regale and satisfy the new-created spiritual appetency. And desist not from the great emprise, until the dawning of the hallowed morn when all India shall be the Lord's;—when the varied products of that gorgeous land shall become visible types and emblems of the still more glorious products of faith working by love; when the palm-tree, the most exuberant of all tropical growths in vegetable nectar, and therefore divinely chosen by inspiration to set forth the flourishing condition of the righteous, shall become the sensible symbol of the dwellers there, who, fraught with the sap of the heavenly grace, and laden with the verdure and the fruits of righteousness, shall raise their voices in notes of praise, that swell and reverberate from grove to

grove, like the soft, sweet echoes of heaven's own eternal hallelujahs;—when these radiant climes, pre-eminently distinguished as the ‘climes of the sun,’ shall become the climes of a better sun,—even the Sun of Righteousness—vivified by His quickening beams, and illumined with the effulgence of His unclouded glory :

‘ Be these thy trophies, Queen of many Isles !
 On these high Heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
 First, by Thy guardian voice, to India led,
 Shall Truth Divine her tearless victories spread.
 Wide and more wide, the heaven-born light shall stream,
 New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme ;
 Unwonted warmth the softened savage feel,
 Strange chiefs admire, and turbanned warriors kneel ;
 The prostrate East submit her jewelled pride,
 And swarthy kings adore the Crucified !
 Yes, it shall come ! E'en now my eyes behold,
 In distant view, the wished-for ago unfold.
 Lo, o'er the shadowy days that roll between,
 A wandering gleam foretells th' ascending scene !
 Oh ! doomed victorious from thy wounds to rise,
 Dejected India, lift thy downcast eyes ;
 And mark the hour, whose faithful steps for thee,
 Through time's pressed ranks, bring on the Jubilee ! ’ ’ ’

CHAPTER XXI.

1851-1854.

MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS' INDIA COMMITTEE.

The first Missionary Moderator of the General Assembly.—Learning and Piety.—Welcoming the Deputies.—Sir John Pirie.—The Twenty Years Charters of the E. I. Company.—Burke, Fox, and John Stuart Mill.—The Reforms of 1853.—The India Committees of Lords and Commons.—Dr. Duff's Statesmanship.—Letters to his Hindoo Students and his Wife.—His Evidence on Judicial and Administrative Questions.—Fighting the Earl of Ellenborough.—Evidence on Education and Christian Missions.—Real Author of the Despatch of July, 1854.—Lord Halifax and Lord Northbrook.—The Educational Charter of the People of India.—The Universities.—The Grant-in-aid System.—Death of Russomoy Dutt and the Christianizing of his Clan.—A Strange Baptism.—Dr. Duff Sorrowing yet Rejoicing.

At the unusually early age of forty-five Alexander Duff was, in 1851, called by acclamation to the highest ecclesiastical seat in Scotland, that of Knox and Melville, Henderson and Chalmers. His immediate predecessor had declared that what the Preacher of the Old Testament calls “the flourish of the almond tree” had been the chief recommendation in his case. The still young missionary found his qualification in “the office which it has been my privilege, however unworthily, amid sunshine and storm, for nearly a quarter of a century, to hold—the glorious office of evangelist, or that of ‘making known the unsearchable riches of Christ among the Gentiles.’

“ Wholly sinking, therefore, the man into the office, and desiring to magnify my office, I can rejoice in the appointment. In the early and most flourishing times

of the Church, the office of the apostle, missionary, or evangelist, who ‘built not on another man’s foundation,’ was regarded as the highest and most honourable. Those who thus went forth to the unreclaimed nations were the generals and the captains of the invading army in the field, while bishops or presbyters were but the secondary commandants of garrisons planted in the already conquered territory. And even in later times, when, in the progress of degeneracy and amid the increasing symptoms of decrepitude and decay, the bishop came to mount the ladder of secular ambition over the more devoted and self-denying missionary, the office of the latter still continued to be held in considerable repute. Hence we read of Augustine, and Willibrord, and Winifred, and Anscharius, and many more besides, who fearlessly perilled their lives in labouring to reclaim the Saxons, Frieslanders, Hessians, Swedes, and other pagan and barbarous tribes, being afterwards created bishops and archbishops, in acknowledgment of their arduous and successful toils. But in more recent times, when the office of the missionary fell into almost entire desuetude among the leading Reformed communities of Christendom, and the attempt to revive it was at first denounced as an unwarrantable intrusion and novelty, the name, once so glorious in the Church of Christ, came to be associated with all that is low, mean, contemptible, or fanatical; but, praised be God, that of late years the name has been rescued from much of the odium, through a juster appreciation of the grandeur, dignity, and heavenly objects of the office that bears it. For the office’s sake, therefore, wholly irrespective of the worthiness or unworthiness of the individual who may hold it, I cannot but hail this day’s appointment as a sure indication that, whatever the case may be with others, the Free Church of Scotland has fairly risen

above the vulgar and insensate prejudices of a vauntingly religious but leanly spiritual age."

Duff was the first missionary who had sat in the Moderator's chair since the first General Assembly in 1560; but, almost without precedent, he sat there twice, as we shall see. John Wilson, of Bombay, was the second, twenty years after. Striking off from his own theme, in his opening and closing charges to the assembled fathers and brethren the Moderator of 1851 occupied himself with the stirring history and the consequent responsibilities of the Kirk which, from Knox to Chalmers, had fought and suffered for spiritual independence. His lesson was that all this struggling and success of the Kirk are but means to an end—the evangelization of the world. Reviewing, in his closing charge, the proceedings of the Assembly, which had been much occupied with an elevation of the standard and an extension of the area of theological scholarship, during the eight years' curriculum of the students, he found himself on familiar ground. "It ought to be counted one of the chiefest glories of our Church that, from the very outset, she resolved with God's blessing to secure not only a pious but a learned ministry." "What we desiderate is, learning in inseparable combination with devoted piety. Piety without learning! Does it not in the case of religious teachers ever tend to fanaticism; would it not be apt to make the life of the Church blaze away too fast? Learning without piety! Does it not ever tend to a frigid indifference; would it not soon extinguish spiritual life in the Church altogether?" But a learned ministry is apt to be proud. "Did it ever occur to these shrewd observers that an ignorant ministry is apt to be conceited? And if we must choose between two evils, we must, according to the old adage, choose the least. But why choose at all?

We repudiate absolutely the proudly learned as much as the conceitedly ignorant. . . . Surely the infinitely varying forms of open and avowed infidelity in our day render it more than ever necessary that the department of Christian evidence or apologetic theology should be cultivated to the uttermost, and that all the resources of sharpened intellect and extensive erudition should be brought to bear upon it."

In the delicate duty of welcoming and bidding God speed to the deputies from the Reformed Churches of France and Belgium, England and Ireland, of the Presbyterian rite, Dr. Duff showed his wonted tact and fervour. Pasteurs Monod and Bost, Durand and Carnot Anquier represented the former; Professor Lorimer and Mr. R. Barbour, Dr. Kilpatrick and Mr. Hamilton, of Belfast, bore the greetings of the latter. To each the Moderator's wide experience of men and countries, of churches and societies, enabled him to say something pleasantly personal. M. F. Monod's Memoir of Rieu he had borrowed from an American friend in Calcutta, and had been comforted by it. M. Bost's brother he knew as a missionary in Bengal. In the Belgian deputies he saw the fruit, through Merle D'Aubigné, of Robert Haldane's zeal. The English deputation led him to quote his favourite poet's lines "On the New Forcers of Conscience," in order to remark: "If a mind like Milton's could have laboured under such huge misapprehensions of the character, genius, tendency and objects of Presbyterian doctrine, discipline and polity, are we to wonder that numbers of the unlearned people in England should labour under misapprehensions still greater?" With the Irish representatives he found common ground in their Goojarat Mission, of which he brought them a pleasant report. According to precedent, he completed his term of office by opening the General

Assembly of 1852, with a sermon on "The Headship of Christ over Individuals, the Church and the Nations, practically considered," which, having been published at its request, ran through several editions.

When in London, in 1851, Dr. Duff was called on to commit to the grave the body of his dearly attached friend Sir John Pirie. Sir John had long been head of a large shipping firm, had been Lord Mayor, and was the first chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company. Dr. Duff had been blessed to him in spiritual things, but when himself dying, recalled to his children only the services done to him and the Mission by his generous countryman. "Sir John Pirie had always done so much for me who had had no claim upon him, from the very first time I saw him in September, 1829; on my first going out to India, that I never knew how it was possible to return the obligation. That very day when he came to call upon us in St. Paul's Churchyard—it was in the afternoon—we had just sat down to lunch which we had meant to make our dinner. He was then simply Alderman Pirie, and he said: 'The agents of your Mission in Scotland asked me to look out for a suitable ship in which to take a passage, and get it properly furnished. I've just come to tell you the thing is done; and whatever remains I'll see to its being done, so you need not have a thought about it. Some day or other if you like to go to the docks you may see it, but there's no occasion. When you go on board at Portsmouth, you will find everything done as perfectly as if you had looked after it yourself. I say this to relieve you of all care and anxiety, so that you may freely go about London, and get such other articles as you may wish to take with you. But my chief message at this particular time is from my wife. You see, I am too much occupied with the secular affairs of this life to be

able to bestow much time or attention on Missions, though I try to promote them in every way in my power ; but we have no family, and my wife therefore has plenty of time on her hands. She spends two whole days every week with Mrs. Fry in visiting Newgate, and she is continually going about seeking ways and modes of doing good. Her message is, you must not stop a day in London but come out at once to our house at Camberwell, and there all kinds of attention will be shown to you.' After his usual manner he would allow of no delay. Mrs. Pirie was waiting for us, and a warmer reception could not have been given to any of her oldest friends. Her house was ever after my home in London until her death in 1869."

From its foundation under Elizabeth at the close of the sixteenth century, to its fall under Victoria in the middle of the nineteenth, the East India Company was the ally or the tool of the two great parties of the state. The periodical renewal of its charter, generally every twenty years, involved the fall and the rise of Ministries. After the pure and exalted administrations of Cromwell and William III., kings did not scruple to use its influence as a bribe, nor statesmen to covet its patronage for corrupt ends. The Regulating Act of 1773, which created the Governor-General and the Chief Justice, struck the first stroke at jobbery at home. But it so demoralized the administration at Calcutta, that in ten years a new charter became necessary. Burke, who had unhappily refused the invitation of the directors in 1772 to go out to India with full power, as head of a commission of three to examine and control their affairs, in 1782 began his lifelong course of unreasoning opposition to a system which, when reformed, John Stuart Mill justly pronounced the wisest ever devised for the government of subject races. India placed Mr. Fox

side by side with Lord North in the Duke of Portland's Coalition Ministry, to carry through Mr. Burke's Bill; and India then made Pitt Prime Minister at twenty-four to devise the wiser measure which ended in the creation of the Board of Control. All over London Fox was caricatured as Carlo Khan riding an elephant full tilt against the India Office.

When the next twenty years had brought round the time, in 1813, for another charter, the Court of Directors were better prepared to defend their still necessary monopoly. The Lords rose as the aged Warren Hastings entered the House where, a quarter of a century before, he had been impeached. His evidence and that of a successor, Lord Teignmouth, of Sir T. Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Charles Grant, prevailed to retain the China commerce for the Company. But India was opened to free trade, and, thanks to Wilberforce, to missionaries and schoolmasters. By the next charter of 1833 the China monopoly too passed away, the new province of the North-West was created ultimately a lieutenant-governorship, the last restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India were removed, and those administrative reforms were conceded which co-operated with Dr. Duff's missionary system.

The subsequent twenty years formed a period of real and rapid progress. As the time approached for the charter of 1853, the governing classes in both India and England prepared for a conflict. By discussions in the press and petitions to Parliament, the Company was assailed by the selfish interests, and criticised by the reformers who sought only a more rapid development of the policy begun by Bentinck and Metcalfe and fostered by Dalhousie and Thomason, in spite of an alarmed conservatism. As the official advocate of the venerable corporation, Sir John Kaye took credit

for all that had been done not only by the Directors, but in spite of them, by Governor-Generals, missionaries and those whom they used to denounce as interlopers. So the Company was spared from extinction once more, by the Whigs under Sir Charles Wood as President of the Board of Control. But several compromises were effected by the Cabinet and Parliament, most happily for both India and the mother country. The two greatest in reality, though they appeared little at the time, were, the concession of nearly all Dr. Duff's demands for a truly imperial, catholic, and just administration of the educational funds, honours and rewards; and the transfer to the nation, by competitive examination, of the eight hundred and fifty highly paid appointments in the covenanted civil service. Besides these, Lower Bengal was created a lieutenant-governorship, like the North-West twenty years before, and the Punjab soon after; and the Crown nominated a proportion of the Directors, reduced to eighteen. And then, as if to prepare the way for the coming but unexpected extinction, the new charter was passed subject to the pleasure of Parliament, and not for the almost prescriptive period of twenty years.

It is not too much to say that, in securing all this, the three reformers who were foremost were the men who in 1830-35 had fought and won the battle of educational and administrative progress in India. As we read again the many thick folios which contain the evidence and reports of the select committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons on Indian territories, we see the suggestions of Dr. Duff, Mr. Marshman, and Sir Charles Trevelyan carried out even in detail. Again was Macaulay by his brother-in-law's side in the application of the principle of open competition to the appointments of India. Mr. Marshman did more than any other man to make Sir

Frederick Halliday the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But it was Dr. Duff who succeeded in placing the keystone in the arch of his aggressive educational system by the famous Despatch of 1854. He had returned to England determined to secure from his own countrymen the measure of justice to non-government colleges and schools which the bureaucracy of Calcutta had denied, in spite of Lord Hardinge's order. We have seen how he began by privately informing and influencing the statesmen and members of Parliament who cared for the good of the people of India. Wilberforce and Charles Grant were gone, and had left no successors. In the public action of Parliament itself, through the constitutional channel of its select committees of inquiry, he found the means not only of utilising the private work he had done, but of informing the whole country and practically influencing legislation. When a government happens to be in earnest, as the Aberdeen ministry of the day were, and when legislation is inevitable, as the charter of 1853 was, there is no duty so delightful to the statesmanlike reformer as that of convincing a parliamentary committee.

Nor intellectually are there many feats more exhausting than that of sitting from eleven to four o'clock, and on more days than one, the object of incessant questioning, by fifteen or twenty experts, on the most difficult problems, economic and administrative, that can engage the statesman. So long as the examination in chief proceeds, or a friendly member follows along the witness's own line, all may go well. But when the cross-fire begins, when you are the victim of a member who is hostile to your views and is determined to shake evidence damaging to his own, or of one who is at once conceited enough to prefer his own facts to yours and clever enough to delude you

into accepting partial premisses which will lead to his conclusions and upset yours, then there is need for the keenest weapons and the most practised skill. This was Dr. Duff's position, and he was moreover one of a band of witnesses of rare experience and ability. Such were these members of the Leadenhall Street staff—John Stuart Mill, whose school have not even yet learned how great and wise he was on Indian questions; and Thomas Love Peacock, whose piquant novels afford a wealth of classic wit and culture to readers with discrimination enough to discover genius. Of the same type of experience was Mr. Henry Reeve, of the Privy Council. Lord Hardinge stated the results of his administration as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. On the Indian side were judges and civilians of such distinction as Sir E. Ryan and Sir E. Perry, R. M. Bird and Mangles, Sir J. P. Willoughby and Sir F. Halliday, and of such promise as Sir George Campbell. Among soldiers, besides Gough and Napier there were Cotton, Pollock and Melville. Scholars like H. H. Wilson, lawyers like N. B. E. Baillie, bishops, missionaries and priests, and finally Parsees submitted their evidence week after week during the sessions of 1852 and 1853.

Among the members of the Lords Committee were peers of the official experience of Ellenborough, Tweeddale and Elphinstone, Broughton and Glenelg. Clive was represented in his grandson Lord Powis. Lord Canning unconsciously prepared himself for a responsibility he then knew not of. Lord Monteagle of Brandon, Lord Stanley of Alderley, and Lord Ashburton were constant and intelligent in their attendance. The Commons Committee numbered in its larger list the names of Joseph Hume, erst Bengal doctor and army contractor; Mr. Baring, destined to be Governor-General; Sir Charles Wood, whose private secretary

he then was ; Mr. Cobden ; Mr. Vernon Smith, who might have learned more to fit him for the home management of the Mutiny when it came ; Mr. Lowe, always wise on India ; Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. James Wilson who thus took his earliest lessons in Indian finance, for which he was to do so much, and do it in vain, thanks to successors unequal to himself. Such were the witnesses, and such the *personnel* of the select committees appointed to inquire into the operation of the charter of William IV., for the better government of Her Majesty's Indian territories till the 30th day of April, 1854.

These letters show the spirit in which Dr. Duff continued his preparations for the committee. The first is addressed to Baboo Ishur Chunder Dé, one of his old Hindoo students who had become a mathematical tutor of the college, and the other teachers. The second was written to his wife.

"LONDON, 2nd April, 1853.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Though your last communication has been so long unacknowledged, rest assured it is not from abated interest in yourselves personally, or in your labours. Oh, no ! though separated from you in body I am constantly with you in spirit ; in the Institution and among your classes. If I am remaining in this country longer than I had expected, it is only for the sake of India's welfare. For India is ever uppermost in my mind ; and my prayer to God is that she may yet be 'great, glorious, and free.' I am here now, privately conferring with various influential persons connected with Parliament and the India House, concerning Indian affairs. There is undoubtedly a growing interest in the subject. The magnitude of the interests involved is beginning to be better understood, and I do fondly hope that much may yet be done, though not nearly so much as the best friends of India would desire.

"The last programme of the annual examination is before

me ; and from it I see the indications of your diligence, as well as that of your pupils. Tell the latter, whether the older ones who are personally known to me or the younger ones who have entered since I left you, that I am intensely and unceasingly interested in their welfare and in the progress of their studies, and long very much to be once more in the midst of you all. By next mail I hope that Mr. Gardiner will go out to supply Mr. Sinclair's place. I cannot doubt that you and your pupils will all of you give him a warm, hearty, tropical reception. I remain, my dear friends, yours very sincerely,

"ALEXANDER DUFF."

"CHAMPION HILL, 14th April, 1853.

"Here I am and getting deeper and deeper into Indian affairs. By perseverance and trust in the Lord, I am gradually getting more and more of the ear of men in whose hands Providence has placed, for the present, the future destinies of India. Some two hours were spent yesterday with Lord Ashburton in his own house. He got more and more interested with the subject as we went on, took notes, etc. And when the hour came for his going to another meeting, he expressed the strongest regret, and begged of me as a great favour, to come to him again to-morrow, and go over a great deal of ground which remained to be overtaken.

"Thereafter I went to Trevelyan, who took me to Lord Granville, the chairman of the Lords Indian Committee. The latter was singularly frank, and expressed the highest gratification at the prospect of getting important information from me. He only broke ground on Indian subjects ; but he took my address, and is to send for me again. They are not yet done with taking evidence on the judicial department ; and he would have me give them what information I could on that subject, as an independent witness unconnected with the Company. I told him that, as an unprofessional man, I did not like much appearing formally in that department. But when he urged me I could not help agreeing to appear before the Lords on Tuesday next, and tell them what I knew, apart altogether from legal technicalities. Pray for me ! It is a great opportunity ! "

May 12th.— "I am summoned to appear before the Lords on Thursday, the 26th May, the very middle of our Assembly.

I mean to try and get the day put off for a week later. But I shall now be obliged to come up here again, before the Assembly closes. This of course I cannot help, as these committees have power to compel witnesses (if unwilling even) to attend. Moreover, it is essential that my evidence should be given and recorded on the education question.

"I have been exploring some of the darkest places in London, in company of one of the most experienced agents of the London City Mission. And last Sabbath circumstances constrained me to turn street preacher in one of the broadest streets at the east end of London. It was a precious opportunity of preaching the gospel to hundreds of the Papists and outcasts. Before I was far on, they became an attentive audience, and the precious invitation of the gospel was freely given to them. Some seemed affected; and at the end several came forward with tears in their eyes, thanking me, and saying they never heard such words before. They were chiefly the words of Scripture in its alluring promises to sinners and publicans if they return, repenting of their sins, to God."

Dr. Duff's evidence on the purely judicial and administrative questions decided by the charter proved to be of unexpected value. Not only had he been conversant, personally, with the reforms of Lord William Bentinck and the experienced civilians who advised and assisted the most radical statesman who ever filled the Viceroy of India's seat; the missionary had for six years been the head of all the reformers in India, who, in the *Calcutta Review*, discussed in detail the measures which were successfully pressed on the attention of Parliament. It had been his duty, as editor, not only to correct their articles, but to work up into papers of his own the materials supplied by high officials who preferred to avoid the direct responsibilities of criticism. Hence we find him stating with a lawyer-like precision, born of the familiarity with a subject that much writing about it gives, the nature of the two prevailing schools of Hindoo law

in Bengal; the necessity for simple codes, criminal and civil; the merits of the educated natives as judges atoning for their defects in an executive capacity; the claims of the Eurasians; the oppressions of the ryot tenantry by their zemindar landlords; the atrocities of the police and the laxity of the jail discipline; the unavoidable neglect of the sixty millions of Lower Bengal by the overworked Governor-General, and the necessity for the detailed supervision of a Lieutenant-Governor. Most generous, but wisely limited by the truth of facts, was his appreciation of Eurasian and native officials, and of the Haileybury civilians and British administration generally. To Lord Ashburton's question, "Do you consider that the present generation of the civil servants of the Company are answerable for the existence of the abuses you have described?" he replied: "Certainly not, intentionally; but no doubt they may be answerable indirectly in another way, inasmuch as from their comparative ignorance of the language and of the laws, and perhaps from the general imperfection of the system, some of these abuses may have sprung up." When Lord Elphinstone, after his Madras experience, asked whether the difficulty of imprinting good ideas on the native mind is not greater than anything we can conceive of here, where all people have some ideas of conscience, he said, "There are exceptions, but the difficulty is such as to have driven many to the extreme of saying that we must leave the adults to themselves, and look to the rising generation as the great hope of the future." Hence, he added, "The British Government has, perhaps, done relatively as much as it was practicable for a merely human government, in such untoward circumstances, and with such imperfect instruments to overtake. . . . No amelioration in our legislative or judicial policy will

reach the springs of some of those evils which I have attempted so inadequately to delineate. Their spring-heads are to be found in those deep-rooted superstitions which work so disastrously in deteriorating native society. Nothing can suffice but a real, thorough, searching, moralizing, and I should individually say, christianizing course of instruction, which, by illuminating the understanding and purifying the heart, will inspire with the love of truth and rectitude, and so elevate the whole tone of moral feeling and social sentiment among the people."

After a day under examination on the whole subject of the secular administration, ending in this only radical and effectual remedy, Dr. Duff spent nearly two days in giving evidence on the educational needs and application of that remedy. Hero he had as his vigilant adversary the able and then bitterly antichristian Earl of Ellenborough, with whom he had many a passage at arms. So little did this foe of Missions know of the facts of an empire which he had ruled, and even of a city in which he had lived for two or three years, that on the mention of the conversion of the Koolin Brahman, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, he asked, "Is not he a Parsee?" Having so smarted under public criticism that he once boasted he read no journal save one devoted wholly to advertisements, Lord Ellenborough pounced upon a reference to the Bengalee papers to make it the occasion of this inquiry, "Are they not in the habit of translating all the worst and most libellous passages from the English newspapers?" The missionary's *impromptu* reply was two-edged: "I regret to say that they very often do translate passages of that kind, both on the subject of politics and on the subject of religion, the character of the one being antichristian and of the other anti-British. I have seen translated into some of the

Bengalee papers passages out of Paine's 'Age of Reason,' and similar obnoxious publications, and on the other hand, passages from certain organs of violent political partisanship." Lord Ellenborough's sneer at Lord William Bentinck's inquiry, through Mr. W. Adam, into the state of indigenous education, was repelled with similarly delicate truthfulness. His defence of the immoralities of the Krishna and other scriptures, which Lord Northbrook had afterwards to order to be blotted out of the Government school-books, as "heroic legends," met with this quiet rebuke, "There are such—such as those taken from the 'Ramayun,' but even those are continually mixed up not only with much that is wildly extravagant, but much that is also grossly polluting." The more intelligent objection suggested by Lord Stanley of Alderley, whose relation to Islam has been so peculiar, was met with equal promptitude: "Would not your objections to such teaching apply to their teaching their religion at all?" "Doubtless it would; but on them must rest the responsibility of so doing. Their religion, if taught at all, cannot be taught without teaching those things; they form a constituent part of it."

Dr. Duff's statement to the Lords Committee regarding his system and its results in the previous twenty years has a meaning for the present time, when the latest conference, chiefly of vernacular-preaching missionaries at Bangalore, has this year passed a resolution of significant stringency in its favour.* Asked by the Duke of Argyll which, upon

* "This Conference desires to express its full appreciation of the value of high class Christian education as a missionary agency, and its hope that the friends of Indian Missions will sympathise with this equally with other branches of evangelistic work in this country. The Native Church in India needs at present, and will

the whole, had been the most successful missionary station with regard to actual and declared conversions, Dr. Duff stated what is substantially true at the present hour, save that the deterioration of the Krishnaghur itinerating mission is one of many proofs that, without educational evangelizing, such missions will not develop or build up an expanding church, but will pass away with their first converts, leaving only such Hindooizing mongrels as the mass of Xavier's and the Jesuit churches in the East have long since become :

"We must draw a distinction between two sets of mission agencies, one educational, and the other the ordinary method of itineracy among the villagers ; these two are essentially distinct. In the villages we often meet with numbers who are comparatively simple and unsophisticated in their minds ; numbers too who, being ignorant, have less to get rid of, and being of low caste, or no caste, have less to lose. Of this description there have been cases where considerable numbers have made a profession of Christianity ; but the profession of many of them, with unexercised, unenlarged minds, may be very unsatisfactory ; at the same time, the sincerity and intelligence of a few among them may be beyond all question. In this department of success, Krishnaghur in Bengal, and Tinnevelly in the Madras Presidency, stand out as the most con-

still more need in the future, men of superior education to occupy positions of trust and responsibility as pastors, evangelists, and leading members of the community, such as can only be supplied by our high class Christian Institutions. Those missionaries who are engaged in *vernacular work* desire especially to bear testimony to the powerful effect in favour of Christianity which these institutions are exercising throughout the country, and to record their high regard for the *educational work* as a necessary part of the work of the Christian Church in India. This Conference feels bound to place on record its conviction that these two great branches of Christian work are indispensable complements of one another, and would earnestly hope that they will be so regarded by the Christian Church, and that both will meet with continued and hearty support."

spicuous examples, both in connection with the Church of England Missions. Then, with regard to the educational departments of missionary success, more has been realized in Calcutta than at any other station in India, as the higher evangelistic processes in that department were begun there at an earlier period, and have been multiplied in connection with different evangelical churches to a greater extent than elsewhere. Numerically considered, however, the converts from these higher educational missionary processes make no great figure ; they ought, however, to be estimated not by their quantity, but by their quality. Young persons come at a very early age, in a state of heathenism, and go through a long preparatory course of training. In the progress of their Christian studies, the consciences of some are pricked with convictions of sin ; they find in the gospel the true salvation, and they openly embrace the Christian faith. It is but a small proportion of them, however, that do so ; but then, from their cultured and well-stored minds, they are of a higher order of converts. Some of them become teachers, and some preachers of the gospel ; and to train and qualify such is one of the great ulterior ends of the institution which I was privileged to found, as well as of other similar institutions in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and elsewhere. Of these young Hindoo preachers, two have already visited this country from our Madras and Bombay institutions ; these preached, even in Edinburgh, with the greatest acceptance, to some of the most intellectual congregations there ; and at Calcutta we have at least three such young men at this moment, and at Madras three, and three at Bombay, with others at these several stations following close on their footsteps. All this indicates a real and substantial beginning ; and as similar causes in similar circumstances produce similar effects, the multiplication of similar Christian educational means may, by God's blessing, be expected to issue in similar results throughout the chief cities and districts of India."

For Dr. Duff and the whole body of Christian reformers at that time, however, the outcome of the inquiry by the Parliamentary committees, and of the legislation that followed, was the famous Educational

Despatch of 1854. How emphatically he was its author, how directly his evidence told on the President of the Board of Control, on the Cabinet and on the Parliament of that day, will be seen from this condensed answer to the invitation of Lord Stanley of Alderley, "Will you state what you would propose the Government should do towards the further improvement and extension of education in India."

"Fall back on the resolutions of Lord William Bentinck, in March, 1835, resolutions which, without damaging or interfering with the existing vested rights of any one, would lead to the gradual abolition of these oriental colleges as seminaries for the educational training of natives, and thus liberate the funds so wastefully lavished upon them for the purposes of a sound and healthful education throughout the land. If the learned oriental languages are to be taught at all in the Government institutions, they ought to be taught simply as languages by one or two native professors, under general European superintendence, with a practical view towards the enrichment of the vernacular tongues, and the raising up of a superior class of vernacular translators and teachers. In this salutary direction some considerable steps have recently been taken in the Sanskrit College of Poona, under the admirable arrangements of Major Candy. Then, secondly, the time has come when, in places like Calcutta and Bombay, the Government might very well relinquish its pecuniary control over primary or merely elementary education. The demand is in these places so great for the higher English instruction that, were a test or criterion of scholarship established for admission to the colleges, where, as in Europe, the higher branches alone of literature, philosophy and science, etc., ought to be taught, the natives would be found both able and willing in sufficient numbers to qualify themselves. In Calcutta the pupils' fees in the vernacular school connected with the Hindoo College amount to about 12,000 rupees annually (£1,200). In the Hindoo College itself they amount to about 30,000 rupees (£3,000). Some of the heads of native society have now acquired sufficient experience and aptitude to enable them to carry on the management of the necessary

preparatory seminaries themselves. In this way a considerable saving might be effected in the educational funds. Thirdly: the time has come when, more especially at the presidency seats, lectureships on high professional subjects, such as law and civil engineering, should be established, not as an integral or constituent part of the course of any existing Government college, but on such a free and unrestricted footing as to admit of the attendance of qualified students from all other institutions, East Indian, Armenian, Missionary or Native. In this way not only might a stimulus be given to the general cause of sound education, but the Government might, in the spirit of Lord Harlinge's resolution, obtain for its own services a larger share than now of really superior native talent and cultivated acquirement. The time has also come in Calcutta, at least, when, with comparatively little additional expense to Government, a university might be established, somewhat after the general model of the London University, with a sufficient number of faculties, constituted on so wide and liberal and comprehensive a basis, as to embrace within the range of its stimulating and fostering influence whatever sound, invigorating, purifying, elevating studies may be carried on in any, whether of the Government or non-Government institutions. Fourthly: the time has now come when, in the estimation even of many who formerly thought otherwise (I simply state this is an expression of my own deliberate opinion, in which, however, I know there is an entire concurrence on the part of a large body of British subjects in this country and India), the Government might with the greatest propriety and advantage act on the principle recommended in the minute by Lord Tweeddale, dated August, 1846. That principle, for very strong and weighty reasons set forth in the minute itself—a minute which, in justice to the noble author, and to the great cause of improved education which he so ably advocates, might well be called for as evidence by this committee—that principle is to allow the Bible to be introduced as a class-book into the English classes of Government institutions, under the express and positive proviso that attendance on any class, at the hour when it was taught, should be left entirely optional; in other words, leaving it entirely free to the native students to read it or not, as their consciences might dictate or their parents desire. . .

Lastly, the Government ought to extend its aid to all other institutions, by whomsoever originated and supported, where a sound general education is communicated. . . Hero at home the Government does not expend its educational resources on the maintenance of a few monopolist institutions; it strives to stimulate all parties, by offering proportional aid to all who show themselves willing to help themselves. . . Without directly trenching on the peculiar religious convictions or prejudices of any parties, Hindoo, Mussulman, European or any others, the Government educational funds would have the effect of extending and multiplying tenfold, at a comparatively small cost, really useful schools and seminaries, and of thus more rapidly and widely diffusing the benefits of an enlightened education among the masses of the people. Thus also, by the adoption of such and other kindred improving measures, and the smile of the God of providence upon them, may the British Government in India render its administration of that vast realm a source and surety of abounding prosperity to itself, a guarantee of brightening hope to the millions of the present generation, a fount of reversionary blessing to future generations who, as they rise in long succession, may joyously hail the sway of the British sceptre as the surest pledge not only of the continued enjoyment of their dearest rights, but the extension and improvement of their noblest privileges."

Rarely, if ever, has a parliamentary committee had such an ideal sketched for it, or a policy struck on so high a key. Lord Ellenborough did not like opinions which cut at the root of his almost equally fervid secularism, and mildly suggested political ruin to "our Government," as the result of success in effecting a great improvement in the education of the Hindoos. Dr. Duff caught at the opportunity to answer the ex-Governor-General, and went to the very root of the matter in a statement which thus concluded: "I have never ceased to pronounce the system of giving a high English education, without religion, a blind suicidal policy. On the other hand, for weighty reasons, I have

never ceased to declare, that if our object be, not merely for our own aggrandisement but very specially for the welfare of the natives, to retain our dominion in India, no wiser or more effective plan can be conceived than that of bestowing this higher English education in close and inseparable alliance with the illuminating, quickening, beautifying influences of the Christian faith. The extension of such higher education, so combined, would only be the means of consolidating and perpetuating the British Empire in India for years or even ages to come, vastly, yea almost immeasurably, to the real and enduring benefit of both.” Lord Ellenborough returned to the charge from the flank. Having secured the admission that Dr. Duff would look on the withdrawal of our controlling power as the signal for universal anarchy and chaos in the present circumstances of India, he insinuated “we should not therefore run any risks, nor do anything which might lead to that result.” “Nothing, assuredly, which would naturally or necessarily tend to so disastrous a consummation,” was the rejoinder. And the three days’ examination ended with the reiterated statement elicited by Lord Wynford, that Dr. Duff did not fear those evil political results from the extension of education “if wisely and timeously united with the great improving, regulating, controlling, and conservative power of Christianity.” A few days afterwards these views received independent support from Sir C. Trevelyan on all those points. That hard-headed, shrewd official, who, after six years in Upper India and six years in Bengal, had become Secretary to the Treasury, made this remarkable statement in reply to the Bishop of Oxford, the only spiritual peer on the committee: “Many persons mistake the way in which the conversion of India will be brought about. I believe it will take place at last wholesale, just as

our own ancestors were converted. The country will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way by direct missionary education, and indirectly through books of various kinds, through the public papers, through conversation with Europeans, and in all the conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated. Then at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn that way, they will come over by thousands."

So well did the President of the Board of Control, the present Lord Halifax, master this and the other evidence, that, although he had entered on office only a few months before, he at once made a reputation as an official of the highest order by the five hours' speech with which he introduced the new India Bill. This done, Dr. Duff and Mr. Marshman worked out the educational portion of their statements before the committee, in a form which Lord Northbrook, then the President's private secretary, embodied in a state paper. That was sent out to the Marquis of Dalhousie as the memorable Despatch of the 9th July, 1854, signed by ten directors of the East India Company. Dr. Duff's handiwork can be traced not only in the definite orders, but in the very style of what has ever since been pronounced the great educational charter of the people of India. Had he done nothing besides influencing the decrees of Lord William Bentinck, Lord Hardinge, and Lord Halifax, each a stage in the catholic edifice of public instruction, that would have been enough. But these ordinances by Parliament and the Government of India, were possible only because of the missionary's practical demonstration in 1830-34. And that demonstration had for its chief end the destruction of Hindooism, and the Christianization of the hundred and thirty millions of Eastern and Northern India.

The Despatch covers eighteen folio pages of a parliamentary blue-book. It has been often reprinted in India, but when in 1873 Dr. Duff attempted to procure a copy in this country, Lord Kinnaird led the India Office to republish it. Beginning with the re-assertion of Lord William Bentinck's two great but disregarded principles, that "the education we desire to see extended in India must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages to the great mass of the people," Parliament and the Company combine to establish the machinery for the purpose. And this they do although "fully aware" that it "will involve in the end a much larger expenditure from the revenue of India" than was allowed at the time. The machinery was : Government inspectors of secular instruction ; universities on the model of that of London, but with professorships in physical science ; secondary schools, English and Anglo-vernacular, in every city and county ; primary and indigenous schools carefully improved ; grants in aid of all ; like university degrees to all who work up to certain uniform standards ; normal schools, school books, scholarships, public appointments, medical, engineering and art colleges ; and finally female schools. As to religion, Lords Halifax and Northbrook put into the mouth of the directors sentiments similar to those which Lord Derby afterwards expressed on behalf of the Queen in the Proclamation of 1858 : "The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be, and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or to discourage any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free-will, ask from their masters on the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school

hours." But of this voluntary instruction "no notice shall be taken by the inspectors in their periodical visits." In the review of the progress of education in India with which it concludes, the Despatch says, of "Madras, where little has yet been done by Government to promote the education of the mass of the people, we can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian missionaries have been more successful among the Tamul population than in any other part of India."

The rest of Dr. Duff's Indian career, outside of the purely spiritual sphere, was devoted to the realizing of what he had thus legislatively and administratively secured from Parliament and the Company. The struggle was long and bitter, and when he was removed it became more and more unsuccessful down to the present hour. At this stage we may show his satisfaction that a system so catholic and so cultured, fair to all men and all truth because born of the teaching of Him Who came to gather all into His one fold, has been authoritatively written for ever on the statute-book of our Eastern Empire. But the two features absolutely new in India, of the universities and the grants-in-aid, demand a word of explanation. The time is coming—the period has come—when men dispute whose is the honour of having first suggested them.

Mr. C. H. Cameron, one of the early successors of Macaulay in Calcutta, seems, from the Parliamentary evidence, to have been the first to declare that work like Dr. Duff's had made Bengal ripe for a university. Dr. Mouat, when secretary to the Government Council of Education, elaborated the proposal officially, but it was rejected by the Court of Directors as then premature. The first whom Dr. Mouat consulted on the scheme was Dr. Duff, who went over it with him in

detail. The missionary's further development and advocacy of the reform in private and public, gave it the Christian catholicity of spirit which led to its adoption ten years after. The still more fruitful grant-in-aid proposal was first laid by Dr. Duff himself before the Court of Directors, as the result of his early conferences with reformers like Lord Cholmondeley and Mr. J. M. Strachan in 1851. He urged it as the only just alternative if the state persisted in refusing to allow the Bible to be taught, under a conscience clause, in its colleges, as the Koran and the Vedas are taught. When, by almost their last act, the East India Company attempted to resile from the grant-in-aid orders, in the case of the Christian Santals, Mr. Strachan published a successful remonstrance based on this very ground.

On its way to Calcutta the Despatch of 1854 was crossed by a private letter from Dr. W. S. Mackay, announcing one of those events which, while they illustrate the opinion expressed by Sir C. Trevelyan as to the social process of India's conversion, show that the Spirit works as the wind bloweth where it listeth.

“ CALCUTTA, 29th June, 1854.

“ Strange events are passing around us ; and though our fears exceed our hopes, no man can say what the issue may be. You may have heard that Russomoy Dutt is dead ; and you know that the family had always a leaning towards the gospel.

“ While attending his father's burning, the eldest son, Kishen, was taken ill of fever, and died also after a few days' illness. The next day, Grish (the youngest son) wrote to Ogilvy Temple, asking me to go and visit him. I was very ill at the time, and confined to bed ; so I got Mr. Ewart to accompany Ogilvy ; and they saw nearly all the brothers together. They conversed with Ewart long and seriously, and begged him to pray with them, all joining in the Amen. It gradually came out that their dying brother had a dream or vision of the other world ; that he professed, not only his belief in Christianity,

but his desire to be immediately baptized, and desired me to be sent for. Objections were made to this, and then he asked them to send for Mr. Wylie. This also was evaded ; and at last, Grish offered to read the baptismal service, to put the questions, and to baptize him ; and thus the youngest brother (himself not yet a Christian) actually baptized the other in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God ! The dying man then called all his family around him, and, in the presence of Mr. Naylor, bore dying testimony to Christ, and besought his family to embrace the gospel. It appeared that old Russomoy himself had been a careful reader of the Bible, and that he had made all the ladies of the family write out the whole of the Psalms in Bengalee.

" We found that all the brothers and most of their sons were so far believers in Christianity that they were making preparations in their families, getting their affairs in order, and conversing with their wives, with a view of coming over to the Lord in a body—their cousin, Shoshee Chunder Dutt, with them. The wives were willing to remain with their husbands, but are still firm idolaters. We have had several interviews with them since of a very interesting nature, and Lal Behari has been particularly useful. . . If the whole family are baptized together, you may suppose what an excitement it will produce ; for take them all in all, they are the most distinguished Hindoo family under British rule. Their ideas of Christian doctrine are vague, but sound on the whole. Their guide in reading the Bible has been Scott's Commentary ; and they seem to acquiesce in his views of the Trinity and Atonement. But alas, our dear friend Wylie hangs between life and death, and I fear the worst. He went to see the Dutts at my request on Wednesday week—was eagerly interested—and as soon as he got home, began a letter to one of them. While he was writing the fever struck him, and he had to lay down his pen. The half-finished letter, with a few words added by Milne, and a note from me, describing the circumstances in which it was written and Mr. Wylie's desire that it should be sent as it was, have all been sent to Grish."

Of this letter Dr. Duff wrote to Dr. Tweedie that it should be kept as a peculiar and singularly interesting statement. After further instruction by Dr. Mackay

and much prayer and study of the Scriptures, all the families were received by baptism into Christ, in the Bengalee church built for the Rev. K. M. Banerjea. "The case altogether" was characterized by Dr. Duff in October, 1854, when he was suffering severely under reaction from his excessive labours, as "one of the very rarest, if not the rarest that has yet occurred in India. The old man, the father, was the very first of my native acquaintances. Many a long and earnest talk have I had with him. From the first he was singularly enlightened in a general way, and superior to native prejudices. His sons were wont to come constantly to my house, to discuss the subject of Christianity and borrow books. I need not say how, in my sore affliction, the tidings of God's work among them has tended to let in some reviving beams on the gloom of my distressed spirit. Intelligence of this sort operates like a real cordial to the soul, more especially now as I am slowly emerging from the valley of the shadow of a virtual death. Praise the Lord, O my soul!" Mr. Macleod Wylie, whose colleague as a native judge Russomoy Dutt had been, was restored to do work for the Master to this hour. The Rev. John Milne, to whom Dr. Mackay alludes, was the godly preacher of Perth to whom the Free Church congregation of Calcutta, and good men of all sorts in Bengal, were grateful for ministering to them.

When describing Calcutta and its great Hindoo septs in 1830, we anticipated that we should see how the Christianity brought to them by Dr. Duff "tested them and sifted their families, and still tries their descendants as a divine touchstone." Russomoy and the Dutt family were the first of these thus to stand the test. So is it that many shall come from the East and the West and shall sit down in the kingdom of heaven.

CHAPTER XXII.

1854-1855.

IN AMERICA AND CANADA.—SECOND FAREWELL TO CHRISTENDOM.

Mr. George H. Stuart of Philadelphia.—The Young Republic Sensitive to Criticism.—The Pope's Nuncio to America.—Dr. Duff and Stormy Weather.—Letter to his Wife.—A Memorable Anniversary.—Weeks of Tempest.—A Sabbath in the Storm.—An Ice-covered Steamer.—Christ in the Ship.—Stranded in the Hudson.—New York.—Welcomed by Seventy Ministers of Philadelphia in a Snowstorm.—Orations there and in New York.—American Criticism.—Preaching to Congress.—A Day with the President—At George Washington's Tomb.—Triumphal Progress by Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit.—The Falls of Niagara.—Montreal.—Toil and Exhaustion.—Missionary Convention in New York.—Farewell to America.—General Assembly of 1854.—Paying the Penalty of Over-work.—At Malvern.—The Fifth Earl of Aberdeen.—At Biarritz and Pau.—Relapse at Rome.—A Peace-maker in the Martyr Church of the Vaudois.—From Genoa by Palermo, Alexandria and Beyront, to Damascus, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.—Farewell Warnings, through the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to Christendom.—Returns to India for the Third Time.

AMONG the American visitors to Edinburgh, the historical capital of Presbyterianism, in 1851, was Mr. George H. Stuart, a merchant of Philadelphia. With what Dr. Duff afterwards described as “all that marvellous readiness and frankness peculiar to the American character, though himself originally an Irishman, a combination therefore of the excellencies of the two characters,” he introduced himself to the Moderator of the General Assembly at the official residence. As he had sat spell-bound by the addresses of that year, and had been roused by the contagious enthusiasm

of the Missionary-Moderator, he determined to invite Dr. Duff to visit the Churches of the United States. " You must come to America," exclaimed Mr. Stuart as he burst in upon the wearied orator, " you shall have a cordial welcome." And observing the gathering frown of dissent, he prevented refusal by the one argument which was irresistible, " We want to be stirred up there ; there is plenty of material there, we need only to be stirred up." At the beginning merely of his financial crusade, Dr. Duff had anew to stir up his own Church and country. But it came to be understood that, if the invitation were renewed when that should have been completed, it would be considered. Meanwhile a formal request for a visit came from the Synod of Canada. Repeatedly did Mr. Stuart write and plead, and cause not a few ecclesiastical and public bodies to do the same. When the beginning of 1854 saw the missionary return from the successful close of his nearly four years' campaign all over Scotland, exhausted in body but refreshed in spirit, his Foreign Missions Committee sent him forth to the great lands of the West, to our cousins in the United States and to our own people in the colonies now happily confederated as the Dominion of Canada.

The time was not favourable for the kindly reception in the West of public men from the old country, not even of ecclesiastics. The young Republic was then very sensitive to criticism. Its generous enthusiasm for the men and the causes which were hallowed to it by sacred sentiments and old memories, had not been met by corresponding sympathy or kindly appreciation. Writers like Charles Dickens, Mrs. Trollope and even Sir Charles Lyell, represented not a few smaller critics unused to travel and innocent of the charity as well as breadth of view which

familiarity with men and countries is only now beginning to give to a race with such imperial responsibilities as the British. In Dr. Duff the people of America had a very different observer, one who represented Asia as well as Europe; whom India and the East had made familiar with the magnitudes, and more than the varieties of races and tongues and civilizations, which imperialise the republicans of the West; whom, above all, his mission as an ambassador for Christ clothed with a charity and fired with a zeal unequalled at that time in Christendom. Still, even so, the many Churches of the United States might have been justified, if not in suspicion, yet in a cold caution towards the ecclesiastical orator. For they had just been sorely tried, grievously deceived, by an Italian notable, who came with all the powers of the papal nuncio. With letters from the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli, Monsignor Gaetano Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes, Apostolic Nuncio to Brazil, had taken the United States on his way. He fared well, as a curiosity at least, even among those who were not of his rite, until some of the Italian refugees from his torturing persecution at Bologna revealed who he was. His own Church, resenting his attempt at interference, joined in the hue and cry which rendered it expedient to smuggle the nuncio on board a steamer bound for Cuba. Mr. George H. Stuart did not do an altogether popular thing when he, for three years, gave Dr. Duff no rest until the missionary, whose powers of reproach and satire in his Master's cause had not been forgotten since the Exeter Hall oration of 1836, crossed the Atlantic. But he whom not a few feared as likely to appear another Bedini, proved to be a second Whitefield. "No such man has visited us since the days of Whitefield," was the cry of the crowd which waved to the Scottish missionary as he left them, their farewells

from the wharf at New York. "What a contrast is this to the departure of Bedini!" was what many said.

Dr. Duff shall himself tell much of the story of his travels and his toils, in such portions of his letters to his wife as may now be published. These present a strange contrast to the newspaper records of the tour, which from the Hudson to Chicago, Detroit to Montreal, and back to Boston and New York again, became a triumphal progress as described in the reports and criticisms of American journalists. If, whenever he sailed, or made long journeys, the missionary became the victim of storm and tempest, of the extremes of heat and cold, we must reflect that his busy life and ardent nature forced him to travel generally at the wrong season, alike in East and West.

"STEAMER 'AFRICA,' MOUTH OF THE HUDSON RIVER,
13th February, 1854.

"Wherever I wander, wherever I roam, I feel that my first note is due to you, the companion of so many of my wanderings, and the associate of my joys and sorrows for well-nigh a quarter of a century. It is with no ordinary feelings of gratitude to God I now sit down in the saloon of the steamer to notify that, after one of the longest and most boisterous passages ever experienced by the great Atlantic steamers, our anchor has just been cast within the bar at the mouth of the Hudson River, within an hour and a half steaming of New York. Our pilot came on board about an hour ago, and had we an hour or two more of daylight we should this night be lodged on the American shore. But the fog and mist have so settled down upon us that, despite the moon, our pilot cannot venture up the river. But

truly thankful all are to be snugly and quietly anchored here to-night, after such a tremendous and almost unprecedented tossing. Had not our vessel been perhaps the strongest built and most powerful in machinery on the line, instead of being here this evening we should either have been not half way as yet, or in the bottom of the deep.

“ And what a memorable anniversary is this night to you and to me—the night of our shipwreck on Dassen Island ! And how strange the coincidences as to time ! On the morning of the 14th February, 1830, we landed on Dassen Island as forlorn fugitives from the awful wreck. On the 14th February, 1840, we landed at Bombay, after our severe tossing in the Arabian seas ! And, if spared till to-morrow morning, I shall land on the 14th February, 1854, on the shores of the New World, the refuge land of the Pilgrim Fathers ! That 14th of February seems to be a day of peculiar eventuality in my life. . . .

“ We started beautifully from Liverpool at 11 a.m. on Saturday, 28th January. A little after lunch the vessel got out of the sand-banks of the Mersey into the Irish Channel, where there was a strong breeze, and a chopping, jumbling sea. I soon sickened as usual, and had to lie down. For two or three days I was conscious only of my misery—an awful sensibility of uneasiness and pain without power of reading or even thinking. The weather night and day continued in its stormiest mood. After having lain for upwards of three days like a dead log, unable to lift my head, I contrived on Wednesday, 1st February, to get up for a little into the saloon. On Saturday forenoon, the 4th, the captain predicted a gale before evening. Towards evening the gale came ahead with almost resistless fury. The vessel, capable of moving in ordinary water at the rate of thirteen or fourteen miles

an hour, struggled like a giant against the gale, making only about a mile or mile and a half an hour. The motion was such as I never remember to have experienced. Such pitching and rolling—such horizontal tremors and perpendicular quiverings—such creaking, cracking, and doleful straining sounds—such thumpings of the waves like the noise of artillery, now on one side, and now on the other, as they broke over her bulwarks, and momentarily submerged her mighty hull in the surging waters! Sleep that night was out of the question. At the height of the gale, about midnight, our danger was most imminent; but towards morning the gale began to abate, that is, towards the dawn of the day of hallowed rest. Still it continued to blow what the sailors call ‘half a gale,’ and the spectacle of sea one mass of boiling foam rolling in mountains, was grand beyond description.

“ Being most anxious to remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy I got into the saloon, and by the captain’s ready permission held a short service there, most of the male passengers being present (the ladies unable) with the servants, etc. I read the 107th Psalm, and made some remarks on a passage in Isaiah with prayer. It was with difficulty we contrived to sit, on account of the fearful motion. But the exertion did me good in many ways, and I thanked the Lord for the opportunity of testifying to His goodness and grace amid the wonders of the deep. The weather continued very stormy, and the cold increased at the same time. On Monday and Tuesday, snow, hail, and sleet with a turbulent sea and strong head winds. On Tuesday forenoon (7th), the captain predicted another gale; and it came, if possible, more severely than before. It looked at one time as if the vessel could not possibly survive it. But it pleased the Lord

still to spare us. On Wednesday, though the paroxysm of the gale was over, it blew almost furiously all the day, with snow. On that night the thermometer fell to 16°, and on Thursday morning the spectacle presented by the vessel was most extraordinary. Though it still blew hard, the sky cleared with intense frosty air, exhibiting the ship as if one huge mass of ice. The decks were covered with it several inches thick, the ropes, spars, and rigging; the boats and paddle works; the masts up to their summits with the sails—all, all incrusted in ice from two to six inches thick; while in the fore-part, where the spray was greatest, there was an accumulation of ice two or three feet thick over the whole woodwork of the vessel, within and without. The captain remarked that if ours had been a sailing vessel, we should now be utterly helpless, as not a sail could be used nor a rope handled; in fact, she would float like a log altogether unmanageable, at the mercy of the winds and waves. The quantity of ice thus formed may appear from the fact, that by its weight the vessel lay nine inches deeper in the water than she would otherwise have done! Of course all hands were set to work with hatchets, malléts, and other instruments to break up as much of the ice as possible, and throw it overboard.

“ This morning, Monday 13th, for the first time since we left old England, a comparatively smooth sea, with a gentle favourable breeze! . We all felt the change in its reviving influence, and anxiously expected this night to be released from our uninterrupted tossings. And truly at this moment there is quiet. The vessel safely at anchor within the bar—no motion. It seems almost unnatural, so accustomed had we become to the roar of the ocean waves, the howlings of the winds, and the multitudinous sounds of the labouring vessel, straining through all her timbers.

But to the Lord do I give thanks. He hath brought us at last over the stormy billows into a quiet haven. Nor has all this trial been in vain. When downright ill, the mind was utterly incapable of thought; but there were intervals when, in spite of the sickening sensations, the mind could variously exercise itself. The whole of the past came up for review before me, all the way in which the Lord hath led me. And oh, how humbling the retrospect as regarded myself! The loving-kindnesses of the Lord, how manifold, how unceasing! My own shortcomings in every way, how manifold! At times I felt a burning wish that all my past life were blotted out of remembrance, and that I might be privileged to begin anew, with a heart wholly dead to sin and sense and the world, and wholly alive to the Lord in all holiness and devotedness. In the end I had no consolation whatever but in clinging as with a death-grasp to the precious assurance that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.

"In the multitude of my thoughts I was often with you and the dear boys, and was led intensely to agonize in prayer for you all. And then I wondered why I was where I was; whether I was on the path of duty, and what the duty might be! My conclusion was, on a review of all antecedents, that I was shut up to visit America, though even now I know not what the Lord has in store for me there. With this feeling, I thought that if never heard of any more, and our vessel foundered amid the stormy Atlantic waves, the Lord might, in one way or other, overrule my death to the good of the souls of the members of my family, and raise up friends to them, and insure the furtherance of His own cause. On these points I came at times to a serene feeling of resignation to His holy will.

"But, if spared, oh how I longed to be a new bur-

nished instrument in His hands. I feel my own unspeakable shortcomings. I really know not what I am to do, or what I can do in this western realm, towards the advancement of the Redeemer's glory. But I now find great consolation in this, that I have been brought here not to do anything myself, but to gain something from the experience of God's people here, which I may carry away with me and turn to account some other day amid the realms of Gentilism. I wait for guidance; I wait for light in the path of duty; I desire to follow the Lord wherever and however He may lead me. Oh, for simplicity, single-heartedness, and self-denying devotedness to Him that loveth us! I burn with desire to see the chaff and dross of the old man consumed, and for the pure bright shining of holiness in the inner and outer man!

“‘Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!’ Would to God I could add with emphasis, ‘Thanks be to God,’ etc. But a heart tainted with sin, how is it to be perfectly cleansed? It really seems like the tainted cask, which, though oft washed and somewhat sweetened, continues to exhibit something inodorous and unsavoury still. But in the end, if faithful unto death, will the last remnant of this taint be removed? Oh, for the rapid diminution of it now, that heaven might enter the soul to the entire exclusion of earth and its corrupting vanities! I have been writing even on, what has been uppermost in my mind, but here I must pause for the present, with a prayer for every blessing to rest on you and our children.

14th February, 7 a.m.—“Very tantalizing—still at anchor, a dense fog preventing our moving. Singular the effect of habit. From the literally incessant complex motions of the vessel for a whole fortnight, when I lay down last night the perfect motionlessness

seemed quite unnatural, so much so that I could not sleep on account of the deathlike stillness. After some broken snatches I was glad at four to hear the sound of the capstan in raising the anchor. I instantly got up and dressed in the dark. Then up to the deck, but sorry to find the dense fog put an end to further preparation for onward movement. Got into conversation with the chief and second officers. With the latter I had often spoken before, he being a member of Lundie's congregation at Birkenhead. With the former I had no previous opportunity, but found him an intelligently religious man, who had read much and thought much. He had also been in Calcutta, and had read the Memoir of Mahendra, for whom he cherished sentiments of admiration. Strange how things come about! Our chief talk was on the ingredients of vital spiritual religion—real heart religion—as contradistinguished from formalistic mechanical outside religion. And a more edifying conversation I have not had with any one for many a day. . . .

"I am full of anxieties, in spite of every effort to cast the burden of my cares upon the Lord. Quite refreshed at the same time by reading a portion of the 119th Psalm. Precious is that blessed word! It is divine authority transfused with tenderness and love. What would the world be without it? a creation without a sun.

15th February, 10 a.m.—"Instead of being at New York yesterday forenoon as we expected, we are here for the last half-hour stuck fast ten feet deep in a mud-bank, within three miles of our destined haven. How notable the probationary ways of God! Yesterday up to noon the fog was so dense that nothing could be seen. The entrance to this river is somewhat like that to the Mersey, the Thames, or the Ganges. That is, for about eighteen miles out seaward there

are endless sand-banks and shallows. For large vessels like ours there is but one channel, and that a very intricate zigzag and narrow one winding through the sand and mud-banks. In the case of the Mersey and Ganges, where there are similar intricacies, there are so many buoys and floating lights that a skilful pilot could steer his vessel through even a dense fog. Not so here. In such a port as that of New York it is scandalous, it is scandalous to think of the state of things. For about nine miles there are only three small stake-looking objects visible above water, and in a fog not visible beyond a few hundred feet. About noon the fog cleared a little and one of these stakes was seen. Our vessel soon moved on a little, until she fairly grounded on a sand-bank, striking upon it, though not very heavily, several times. By backing the engines she was ultimately moved off. Night came on, and she anchored in water so shallow that she barely floated—drawing as she does even now, after consuming a thousand tons of coal, 18 feet. As the tide ebbed she again grounded, and was aground altogether from midnight till about seven this morning. What an anxious night to captain and all on board! Happily the wind was light, otherwise had there been a heavy sea, or a strong wind, or a gale such as we had at sea, she must have proved quite a wreck before morning. From the peculiarity of the motion, I felt all night that we were aground; and very wakeful at any rate. Meditation took all my sleep away. Up between three and four to see what was to be done. ‘This,’ said the captain, ‘is worse than all our gales on the passage.’ About seven this morning, as the tide rose, the vessel was at length extricated from the sand-bank. All felt unusually joyous. At last how we were gladdened when we came close to Staten Island on the left—the first

American house we saw crowning its not lofty but pleasantly wooded land. . . . Soon after we got to the deck after breakfast, the ship proceeding full speed, she plunged into a mud-bank ten feet deep! Instantly the engines backed, but though plying their utmost energy, no effect on the position of our noble vessel. Here she is fairly stuck; and the captain says he will have to discharge the whole of his cargo here, and then get steamers to tug her off! Meanwhile he has sent for a small steamer to take off the passengers and their luggage. For that steamer we are now anxiously waiting. The Lord send us deliverance in His own time and way."

"NEW YORK. *A little past noon, February 15th.*—With heartiest thanks to God I now record the fact of my arrival in this great city. The small steamer did come to take off passengers and luggage and mails. At the wharf, Stuart of Philadelphia, his brother of this place, and the Rev. Mr. Thomson, one of the Presbyterian ministers, were waiting to welcome me; and what a right hearty and joyous welcome they did give! It really made one weep for very gratitude and joy. I now found the advantage of my being the bearer of the Government despatches. It gave me precedence before all others, and as to luggage it was hurried through in a few minutes, while that of the passengers was subjected to a painfully minute examination. First we were driven off to Mr. Thomson's, though Mr. Stuart and his brother had expected me; and now in my own bedroom—large and airy—I am writing the conclusion of a long letter. . . . The captain and officers declared they had never made such an uninterrupted stormy passage. And then our very critical position yesterday and last night had a strong wind risen!"

"The only thing that really distresses me is that they are already publishing all manner of extravagancies about me in the newspapers. The natural tendency of all this on my spirit is to paralyse it, as the glory is too much taken from the Creator and bestowed on the creature. This is sinful, and the holy and jealous God will not allow it, but blast the whole with the mildew of His sore displeasure. Oh for grace, grace, grace ! Pray for me, oh pray !"

" PHILADELPHIA, 1st March, 1854.

". . Time is absorbed more than ever in this land of 'Go-a-headism' in all things. But no ! I must qualify this somewhat by adding, except perhaps pure, simple, genuine, unsophisticated spiritual religion. For, though there is such religion here in individual cases, I begin to fear that, as to its prevalence and extent, America is not going ahead of the old country ; still, I must not be judging prematurely.

"We landed here in the most terrific snowstorm, and in a perfect hurricane of wind and drift. Nothing like it here, they say, for more than twenty years. And happy we to have got in at all on that awful night. Other trains from the west, etc., got fairly embedded in snow-wreaths ; and for a day or two, passengers shut up in them, incapable of being extricated ! Their trials and sufferings you may conceive. Half an hour later, and we too should have been detained in the drift all night. Thanks, then, be to God for our safe arrival ! I sent a paper which would show you what sort of a reception we met with here. It is still to me like a vision of the night or an ideal dream. I knew that Mr. Stuart, in his zeal and warm enthusiasm, meant to invite a few friends to meet me in his house ; but in such a tempest I concluded that not one could venture out. Wearied

and fatigued with the long journey and detention in the snow, and the foul air in our carriage—one of the long American kind—crammed with passengers, the tempestuousness of the weather not admitting of a single chink or crevice being opened, I concluded, as a matter of course, that, almost immediately on arrival I would be enabled to retire to my bedroom for repose. Judge then of my surprise, my downright astonishment, when, on entering the spacious house, I was told that between sixty and seventy ministers were waiting to welcome me—then, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, and such an awful night of storms! —Episcopalians, Presbyterians of every school, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, in short, all the evangelical ministers of every church in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood! Never was there such a gathering of ministers in this city before, on any occasion or for any object. No wonder though I stood in dumb amazement, wondering what all this could mean. To each one of those assembled I was introduced, and from each received such a hearty shake of the hand, and such a cordial welcome in words, that I could do nothing but show the fulness of my heart and choked utterance by the earnest look and tearful eye. After the salutations were all over, the company retired to the dining-room, where a long table was laden with a magnificent collation of all manner of luxurious things—fit for the entertainment of an Asiatic prince. I was requested to ask the blessing; since, as worthy Mr. Stuart said, ‘all were anxious to hear the sound of my voice.’ After collation all again retired to the drawing-room, when one of the ministers in the name of the rest, in a neat, warm address, welcomed me to America; and Dr. Murray, better known as ‘Kirwan,’ followed it up with some notices of his meeting with me at

Exeter Hall and Belfast Assembly. Mr. Stuart himself stated how he was present at my opening address as Moderator of our Assembly. Then a chapter of the Bible was read; and a bishop of the Episcopal Methodists prayed—oh, how sweetly and earnestly!—it pierced my very heart.

“A little past midnight this remarkable party broke up, amid the hurricane raging outside. Some of them, as they told afterwards, were hours before they reached their homes, though not above a mile or two distant, buffeted by the tempest and up to the waist in snow. How can I portray my commingled feelings when I retired towards one o’clock to my couch of repose! It is impossible. Such a reception, so new, so peculiar, so unprecedented, what could it mean? With one or two exceptions, not one of the assembled ministers had ever seen my face in the flesh. And yet, as each one shook hands with me, he spoke as if I were an old familiar friend; as if he knew all about me, and hailed me as a brother in the Lord. Never before was any minister or missionary of any denomination so received and so greeted in this part of the world, nor in any other that I have ever heard of. What could it all mean? I was lost in wonder, adoring gratitude and love. I approached these shores with much anxiety, in much fear and trembling. I felt an oppressive uneasiness of spirit which I could not shake off. My only refuge was in casting myself wholly on the Lord, and in praying that His will might be done, and His alone. That I might realize myself as absolutely the clay, and He my potter, to shape me, mould me as He willed, and breathe into me and through me what He willed. Surely, I felt, this unparalleled reception must be a first smile of Jehovah. Who but He, by His Holy Spirit, could have breathed into such diversities as were

present then, such a unity of feeling, and sentiment, and goodwill towards a total stranger—and that stranger not a noble, or statesman, or man of literature or science, or discoverer, or ex-governor like Kossuth, but merely a humble missionary to the heathen. One thing I have rejoiced in, and that is, that the Lord enabled me to remain faithful, in adhering to my post in heathen lands, in upholding the work of evangelization as the greatest work on earth, in thus honouring the Lord in connection with that cause, which though despised by the world is the highest and noblest in His estimation: and could this be a realization of the promise, ‘Them that honour Me, I will honour’? I then trembled, lest this might be a proud thought instilled by Satan, and prayed that my sense of personal nothingness might be deepened and deepened, until it became too deep for Satan ever to fill it up again. And in the end, I seemed to feel as if in my inmost soul I never had a deeper or humbler sense of my own utter unworthiness and nothingness than after that astonishing reception. Oh, that the Lord may evermore increase the feeling, until from the outer sanctuary of earth He call me to the inner sanctuary above, where Satan and his wiles cannot enter!

“On Tuesday forenoon the wind was hushed into a calm, but on the streets the snow lay from four or five to eight or nine feet deep. The causeways for foot passengers were gradually cleared by thousands employed in hurling the snow into the main street. Vast walls of snow were thus piled up there, that is, along the sides of the main streets, choking up the narrower ones altogether, and rendering them utterly impassable by any vehicle; and in the broader ones leaving the middle part with three or four feet of snow on it. Then the sleighs were all put in requisition,

sleighs of all shapes and sizes—smaller ones with one horse carrying one or two, larger ones with many horses carrying numbers. And as they made no noise in the snow, the horses were covered with small bells, which kept up a jumbling and interminable tinkling of bells all over the city.

"The hall where the first meeting was to be held is the largest in Philadelphia, holding, when full, between three and four thousand people. All were to be admitted by tickets; of these about a thousand had been privately distributed among the most influential families in the city, in order to ensure the presence of those whose presence it was our object to ensure. The rest were disposed of in the ordinary way by book-sellers to the first comers. But, tempestuous though the weather was, thousands applied for tickets who could not get any. This proved that there would be a crowded meeting. And so it was. On the platform all ministers of all churches were present. Dr. Murray made an admirable introductory address. The manifestations of enthusiasm on the part of the audience took me utterly aback, because I had been warned that an American audience was always sober, stern, sedate—the very contrast of an Exeter Hall audience—never exhibiting any of those noisy symptoms, either of approbation or disapprobation, that are usual in the 'Old Country,' as Great Britain is always called here. On this account I was astonished at the outburst of applause, when Dr. Murray stepped forward to take me by the hand and welcome me, in the name of that great audience, to American hearts and hearths and homes. The rounds of applause were repeated again and again. This made me feel that the people were animated by some unusual emotion, and I prayed the Lord more fervently than ever to guide me in what I should address to them. The outline of what I said has been reported

in the newspapers, consisting of things new and old, but all new to the audience. The manner in which the whole was received astonished me utterly. I was utterly unconscious of saying anything new, or anything remarkable—and yet the interpolations of the reporter about ‘applause,’ can convey no idea whatever of the enthusiasm with which all was received, and especially the concluding parts, which were new to myself and called forth entirely by the enthusiasm of the audience. When I alluded to America and Britain shaking hands across the Atlantic as the two great props of evangelic Protestant Christianity in the world; and to America’s not standing by and see the old mother country trodden down by the legions of European despotism, whether civil or religious, you would have thought that all the winds in the cave of Æolus had been let loose, and that the great audience was convulsed, and heaved to and fro in surging billows, like the Atlantic Ocean in a hurricane. Nothing like such a scene had ever been witnessed here before at any religious meeting whatever. I could not but have an intense impression that the Lord had greatly more than answered all my prayers, had greatly more than rebuked my fainting unbelief, had greatly more than exceeded my utmost hopes or wishes, or even imaginations. I retired more than ever lost in wonder and amazement, praising and magnifying the name of the Lord.

Wednesday, 22nd.—“A stream of visitors inquiring for me the whole day long, from early morn till late in the evening. In the middle of the day Mr. Stuart got a nice sleigh and drove us over all the city, the day being dry and cold. It is an easy and most delightful mode of travelling. At 9 p.m. went to a prayer-meeting of ministers and office bearers, where fresh greetings awaited me.

Thursday.—“More visitors than ever throughout the day. In the evening attended and spoke at the anniversary of the Sabbath Observance Society. From what was then said, it appears that they have here the very same difficulties to contend against that we have in the old country.

Friday.—“Went this day to inspect some of the public institutions. Visited ‘Independence Hall,’ in which the leaders of the Revolution in 1776 signed the declaration of American independence, by which they were declared rebels and traitors against the British Monarchy; this led to the war, which terminated in 1784 in their favour. The hall is almost idolized now. Went through the Mint of the United States, which is in this city and in which most of the California gold is prepared for use; the Colonel at the head of it very kindly going round himself, and explaining all the varied processes, some of them exquisitely beautiful. Visited Bible and Tract Depositories, etc.; met with some of the religious committees or boards, who assembled purposely to confer with me, to explain their operations, and receive any suggestions which I might offer. I felt very humbled indeed, in my own mind, to think of the way in which these experienced sages were pleased to listen to anything and everything which I was led to remark. It was still the sensible presence of the Lord with me. In the evening met a huge party of friends at the house of one of the leading ministers: very profitable, but after the day’s inspections and talkings, fearfully fatiguing.

Saturday.—“No cessation of the stream of callers. Went, under the guidance of a minister and layman of great intelligence, to visit the coloured Refuge, or that for Negro children. Greatly gratified by its industrial and scholastic departments;—then the famous Peni-

tentiary, the first ever erected on what is called the separate system ; that is, every prisoner has a separate room for himself or herself, with some work to do, such as weaving, shoemaking, carpentry, with no possibility of communicating with one another. The arrangement of the compartments is so contrived that, on Sabbath, all the prisoners in one wing may hear sermon without seeing the chaplain or seeing one another. I entered many of the cells and conversed freely with the solitary inmates. Everything was clean, cells well ventilated, with a small outer court attached to each, in which each prisoner can take exercise in the open air, without any intercourse with his fellows. Altogether, it was the finest prison contrivance I had ever seen, though Pentonville in London is, I believe, constructed very much after its model.

Sabbath, 26th Feb.—“The evening of this day, preached in the great hall in which I lectured on Tuesday, as being the largest place. Other evening services of a stated kind having been given up, all the ministers were there ; and long before six o'clock the place was crammed. The platform gallery was so crowded that it yielded considerably ; and great apprehensions were entertained that it would give way altogether, but the Lord mercifully spared us in this respect. From the crowd so long congregated there, the ventilators not having been opened and the steam flues having been heated beyond ordinary, the atmosphere was quite dreadful before I began. It was like encountering the steaming heat of Bengal in September, without free circulation of air and without a punkah ! Besides ministers many of the leading citizens were there, some of whom are seldom seen in any place of worship. The awful state of the atmosphere compelled me to abbreviate, but the Lord greatly strengthened

me. The people were obviously affected. May impressions be lastingly sealed home on souls! Went home drenched, to pass a restless, sleepless night.

Monday, 27th.—“Saw and conversed with many of the conductors and agents of religious and other societies. Visited, in the centre of the city, a district as low, sunken and debased as the worst parts of the Cowgate of Edinburgh, or the wynds of Glasgow, or the St. Giles of London. Some days before a deputation of ladies called on me to tell me of their society and its operations, in the attempt to bring the Gospel to the door of the outcast population. They said their anniversary was to be held on Monday evening, and wished me to speak at it. I did not promise, as I could not calculate on my strength. But on Monday afternoon I went with Mr. Stuart and Mr. Thomson, of New York, and one of the city missionaries, to visit a portion of the wretched district. We entered many of the awful dens—some underground, with darkness made visible by a few half-mouldering cinders, and heaps of rags and bones and filth all around; some up stairs like broken ladders, and trap-doors, with similar accumulations, in the midst of which men and women and children, filthy, haggard, savage-like and drunken, lay cursing and blaspheming.. Anything worse I have not seen, even in London. And of this description there are many thousands in this Philadelphia,—this city of brotherly love! All this was quite new to me; I had never read or heard of such scenes in these regions of the west. Such vileness, such debasement, such drunkenness, such beastliness, such unblushing shamelessness, such glorying in their criminality, such God-defying blasphemousness; in short, such utter absolute hellishness I never saw surpassed in any land, and hope I never will. Indeed, out of perdition, it is

not conceivable how worse could be. We all got sickened in body and in spirit. After what I saw and heard and smelt and handled, I felt stirred up in spirit to address, if possible, the evening meeting. More especially did I feel called on to speak, since I was told that no general interest was manifested by the community in the effort to raise these sunken masses. It had also, contrary to my permission, been announced that I was to speak. A large and crowded audience were thus assembled. As the thorough work of 'territorial' excavating seems all but unknown here, I tried to explain our Scottish system of operation, as exemplified by Chalmers and Tasker in the West Port, and went into many details and appeals. The Lord manifestly was there with His presence. From all I have heard since, an interest has been awakened in the work here that is altogether new, and will, it is believed, never die out until the masses of the outcast be reclaimed. It was delightful to be able thus to harmonise the home and foreign mission work.

Tuesday, 28th.—“This morning, a deputation from the ladies came to thank me for the preceding evening’s address, with written note of thanks from the managers. In the evening, met the elite of society here, at the house of a Mr. Milne, originally from Aberdeen—a very flourishing manufacturer on a great scale here. Some two hundred were assembled. After much conversation, and the supper collation, I was asked to favour the party with some account of the rise and progress of our Mission in Calcutta. This I supplied, all seemingly interested exceedingly in the statement. It was near one this morning before I got home. To-day I was to have proceeded to Princeton College, but this morning felt so poorly after such a long run of uninterrupted excitation—physical and

mental and moral—that I could not move. Thrice I tried to dress; and thrice, in sheer despair, I was obliged to retire to bed. I now feel better. And having shut myself up, from necessity, in my bedroom, I have betaken myself to the writing of letters. You may say, Why allow yourself to be done up in this way? Indeed, I have fought and struggled and toiled to prevent it. But all in vain. The kindness of these people is absolutely oppressive; their impetuosity to address here and there and everywhere so absolutely autocratic, that I am driven, in spite of myself, to do more than I know I can well stand. Bad as the state of things in Scotland was in this respect, it is ten times, yea, a hundred times worse here. Here the applicants are legion, and their dining impetuous as the Atlantic gales. Ministers in all directions ask me to preach for them; committees of all sorts, of a religious, philanthropic, or missionary character, do the same; managers of schools entreat me to visit and address their pupils; young men's associations and all manner of nondescripts beleaguer me. Indeed, if I could multiply myself into a hundred bodies, each with the strength of a Hercules and the mental and moral energy of a Paul, I could not overtake the calls and demands made upon me, here and from many other quarters, since my arrival. The necessitated confinement of this day, however, is a seasonable lesson; and I must set on a face of flint in resisting aggression beyond what I am able to bear or encounter. All very delightful, if one had the needful strength. But no strength of no man that ever lived could stand out all this. They little know how much more painful it is to me to be obliged to refuse than it would be to comply. As regards this place, I have abundant satisfaction in already knowing that I have not come here in vain.

"Though I have spoken nothing but what has long been familiar to my own mind, I have evidently been led to speak much that was new to most people here. Last evening this one came up to me and thanked me for the announcement and exposition of one principle, and another for that of another, and so on in dozens. It looked as if a flood of new principles had been poured in upon a dry or empty reservoir. Several openly declared that if I should do nothing more in the New World than what had been done already in this place, it was more than worth my while to have crossed the Atlantic in order to achieve it. An impulse, they said, has been given to the cause of vital religion and personal piety, as well as the cause of home and foreign missions, such as has never been imparted before—an impulse which, through the press and the correspondence of individuals, will vibrate through the whole Union. Well, well; to the Lord be all the praise and the glory! Amen. That this can be no mere empty talk seems evident from the way in which the entire press here, alike secular and religious, has treated of these meetings and their results. I do desire, therefore, to thank God and take courage. Oh, for more grace, more living spirituality, more faith, more wisdom, more entire self-forgetting, self-consuming consecration to His cause and glory!"

"Men of weight and note in this community are already pressing upon me the duty of not returning to Scotland for a twelvemonth—vehemently insisting on my having a call from God here, from the effects already manifested. Others seriously insist upon it that I ought to remain here altogether. Of course, to all this my reply is very simple and peremptory; though such urgencies show the feeling awakened. Oh, that the Lord may strengthen me more and more! fit me, prepare me for all He would have me to be and to do."

"ELIZABETH TOWN, Friday, 3rd March.

"Yesterday I came on to this place in New Jersey, Mr. Stuart accompanying me. It is the scene of the labours of Dr. Murray, the celebrated author of "Kirwan's Letters," in whose house I am now comfortably entertained. Though far from well I came on yesterday, as I had arranged to do so. It was professedly for *quiet* that I came; but these people's notions of quiet seem odd enough. It is all in kindness; but this way of showing kindness is quite killing. Dinner was early, several friends having been invited to meet me, some from New York. These latter returned by the six o'clock train. Then came pouring in dozens of respectabilities to tea to greet me—ministers and laymen with their wives and daughters. An incessant talk was kept up till eight, when, as many who had come from distances of twenty and thirty miles had to return by train, we had worship, myself being called on to conduct it. By that time I was fairly exhausted, with a racking headache. However, I concluded that with worship all was ended. And true, most of the visitors withdrew; but to my horror, their withdrawal was only the signal for a fresh influx from the neighbourhood, until the room was again filled. To me it was a real purgatory in my jaded exhausted state. Nevertheless I strove to hold on till ten o'clock, when nature could stand out no longer, and I told my kind host I must instantly retire, or literally fall from my chair on the floor. So I slipped off at once, with sensations all over my body as if I had been pounded in a mortar. Now all this is out of respect and kindness to me. Of course the *feeling* on the part of these strangers I cannot but appreciate, and do appreciate. But, at this rate, it will soon kill me outright. It is in vain that I complain and protest.

There is such an impetuous earnestness about them that on they work without a moment's thought as to consequences.

"To-night there is to be a public meeting here; and to-morrow I return to New York, where I have some ten days' labour before me. But New York and Philadelphia are the two most important cities in the Union. Therefore, my chief strength will be devoted to them. To other places I can only pay a very hasty visit. The weather has been very trying; and the way in which houses are heated here with steam and stoves really often sickens me. But my trust is in the Lord, that He will direct me and uphold me, and enable me to accomplish whatever He hath purposed by bringing me hither."

Of the contemporary American criticisms on the first great address in the Concert Hall of Philadelphia this was the most discriminating: "Dr. Duff is obviously labouring under ill-health, and his voice, at no time very strong, occasionally subsides almost into a whisper. In addition to this drawback he has none of the mere external graces of oratory. His elocution is unstudied; his gesticulation uncouth, and, but for the intense feeling, the self-absorption out of which it manifestly springs, might even be considered grotesque. Yet he is fascinatingly eloquent. Though his words flowed out in an unbroken, unpauseing torrent, every eye in the vast congregation was riveted upon him, every ear was strained to catch the slightest sound; and it was easy to be seen that he had communicated his own fervour to all he was addressing. Indeed, while all that he said was impressive, both in matter and manner, many passages were really grand." The excitement which moved the capital of Pennsylvania was repeated, if New York on a greater scale, and found expression in such journalistic description as this:

"TWO HOURS BEFORE DR. DUFF—and most instructive hours they were, not soon to be forgotten. When, towards the close of his masterly discourse, we went to the front of the gallery (in the Tabernacle) and looked at the orator in full blaze,—his tall ungainly form swaying to and fro, his long right arm waving violently and the left one hugging his coat against his breast, his full voice raised to the tone of a Whitefield, and his face kindled into a glow of ardour like one under inspiration,—we thought we had never witnessed a higher display of thrilling majestic oratory. 'Did you ever hear such a speech?' said a genuine Scotsman near us, 'he cannot stop.' Since Chalmers went home to heaven Scotland has heard no eloquence like Duff's. In London he has commanded the homage of the strongest minds. . . . After a quiet, graceful introduction of his theme, founded on the missionary teachings of the Scripture, he led us across the seas to the scene of his apostolic labours. The description was complete. Magnificent India, with its dusky crowds and ancient temples, with its northern mountains towering to the skies, its dreary jungles haunted by the tiger and the hyena, its crystalline salt-fields flashing in the sun, its Malabar hills redolent with the richest spices, its tanks and its rice-fields, was all spread out before us like a panorama. We saw the devotees thronging in caravans to the shrine of Jugganath. We heard the proud Brahmins contending for the absurdities of their ancient faith, which claims to have existed on this earth for four millions of years. . . . When the orator opened his batteries upon the sloth and selfishness of a large portion of Christ's followers, his sarcasm was scalding on the mercenary mammonism of the day. Under the burning satire and melting pathos of that tremendous appeal for dying heathen-

dom tears of indignation welled out from many an eye. We all sat in shame and confusion. I leaned over towards the reporters' table. Many of them had laid down their pens. They might as well have attempted to report a thunderstorm. As the orator drew near his close he seemed like one inspired. His face shone, as it were the face of an angel! He had become the very embodiment of missions to us, and was lost in his transcendent theme. Never before did we so fully realize the overwhelming power of a man who is possessed with his theme. The concluding sentence was a swelling outburst of prophecy of the coming triumphs of the Cross. As the last thrilling words died into silence the audience arose and lifted up the sublime doxology :

“Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise Him, all creatures here below.”

Washington next claimed the presence of the missionary, and that he reached by way of Baltimore. There he preached to Congress, “in the hall of the House of Representatives, and there he had a prolonged interview with the President. The Speaker sat to the left of his official chair, the President, Franklin Pierce, to the right. Emblems of mourning for the late Vice-President, covering the canopy, surrounding the portraits of Washington and Lafayette, and “enveloping the Muse of History in her car of Time over the central door,” seemed to intensify the stillness of the dense congregation of public men from all parts of the States. The young Republic was, indeed, spread before the preacher, as, after devotions led by the chaplain of the Senate and ministers of several churches, he spake from the inspired words of Paul to the dying Roman Empire: “By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all

men, for that all have sinned." After a day with the President, and another at the tomb of George Washington, at Mount Vernon, he turned westward, with the Rev. Dr. R. Patterson as his secretary and friend, across the Alleghany Mountains to Pittsburg in the Ohio valley. There he found many Scotsmen and too many Presbyterian divisions, since reduced by ecclesiastical union. " Proceeding along the singularly beautiful valley of the Ohio, with its meadows and groves, and cultured plains and rolling wooded hills, by Cincinnati and Louisville on to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi; from that to St. Louis, then northward to Chicago, on the Lake Michigan; thence crossing eastward to Detroit I entered Canada, visiting the principal places there as far as Montreal, and returned by Boston and New York. Holding public meetings at the principal places as I went along, everywhere I met with the same kind and generous reception." Such was Dr. Duff's rapid summary to the General Assembly of the subsequent May, of a tour in which his voice fairly gave way at Cincinnati, and he was careful not to omit Princeton, the centre of evangelical theology in the West. A letter to Mrs. Duff has preserved this record of his experience in Canada.

"MONTREAL, 18th April, 1854.

"Home comes uppermost in my mind when I lie down and when I rise up, and oft throughout the busy day. By way of a little recreation to my own mind, I shall now avail myself of an hour's breathing-time in my bedroom, under cold and headache, for noting some of the incidents in my campaign.

Wednesday, 5th April.—"This morning up at day-break, to visit the famous Niagara Falls. Reached Hamilton, some forty or fifty miles distant, about 2 p.m. There several friends were waiting for me. After a good deal of talk, proceeded to the house of

Mr. Isaac Buchanan, the leading merchant of Hamilton. This town lies at the head of a small lake, which communicates, by a cut, with Lake Ontario. It lies in a hollow of considerable breadth—a ridge of two or three hundred feet high running along the south side of the vale, and another along the north. Reaching the curl of the southern ridge (called there the ‘mountain’) it does not dip to the south, but shoots across, as tableland, to Niagara and Lake Erie. The house is elevated on that mountain, whence is a magnificent prospect of the Hamilton valley and Lake Ontario. There a company of friends had been invited to dine with me, and so no rest or pause till we started for the public meeting in his church, where I had to address a large and crowded audience. Ministers of all denominations were there; the Established Kirk minister actually took part in the preliminary devotional service! It was a grand meeting; all seemed to be unusually solemnized. It was past midnight before I could retire, worn out, to my bedroom on the mountain.

Thursday, 6th.—“Up in the morning to breakfast between seven and eight, as I had to attend a meeting of the office-bearers and members of the church at 10 a.m. This proved a very hearty meeting; but I had to address them for nearly two hours. The end was that they formed themselves into a regular association, after the home model, to raise quarterly contributions for our Mission, some dozen and half of the ladies present volunteering to act as collectors. Altogether it was a very gratifying spectacle and noble result. Besides all this, the treasurer put £50 into my hands for our Mission, as the result of the collection spontaneously made on the preceding evening. Between 12 and 1 p.m. went to the railway station to proceed to New London, about 100 miles west of Hamilton,

towards Lake Huron. We started with a very heavy train of between six and seven hundred passengers ; and as the first fifty miles west is a gradual ascent, we proceeded very slowly. Like all American railways it is but a single line, and very recently opened. Well, on we went till we passed a small station, some thirty miles distant, within half a mile of a town ambitiously called Paris. There our engine slipped off the rail ; but the steam being instantly let off, and the engine happily breaking down, none of the passenger trams were overturned, though the shock and collision were such as to break the panes of glass in the backmost one in which I sat. A *second* more—yes, a single second more, and the whole would have been overturned. What lives then would have been lost ; what limbs fractured—it is fearful to contemplate. God be praised for the marvellous deliverance ! At that wretched little station, with a cold biting frost, where neither food nor shelter could be had, we had to wait on in expectation of the train from the west. As it turned out, it too had met with an accident and so was delayed. Meanwhile, another train arrived from the east with 300 more passengers. But the rail was broken up by our mishap, and so no passage for it. Towards dusk the western train came up ; then passengers and luggage were reciprocally transferred from the eastern to the western train, and about half-past 8 p.m. we were afloat again, very weary, cold, and hungry ! It was between eleven and twelve before we reached London. The congregation had assembled at seven, waited patiently till half-past nine when a telegraph conveyed the news of our disaster, and they dispersed. By 1 a.m. I tried to get to rest, praising God for His wondrous goodness.

Friday, 7th.—“ Up early to breakfast ; a new circular issued, inviting the congregation to assemble at half-

past ten, and, singular to say, a full church we had by that time. As the train was to leave between 1 and 2 p.m., I went to the pulpit with the watch before me, and spoke on till near the train time. From the church went to the railway terminus, and proceeded eastward. A very fine set of ministers and people I met at London; had no idea of such a noble Christian people in such an out-of-the-world place. Several ministers and others accompanied me for a dozen miles by the rail, as they had seen so little of me; but the exhaustion to me after speaking was really awful. And, singular to add, when within three or four miles of the place of accident on the preceding day, our engine again slipped off the rail, and buried itself in a steep clay bank, without (most mercifully) overturning the passenger carriages. We had all to get out, climb the wet clay bank, and walk about on the crest of it, waiting for the arrival of a train from the east. Mr. Buchanan, being a leading director of the railway, sent on to the next station for an engine. It came; but, after trial, could do nothing for us. Then we got into the engine, amid the coal and wood, and posted back to the station, the cold (there being no shelter) piercing us through and through. My shoe soles had also given way, and my feet were wetted. From all this I contracted a heavy cold, which has been generally oppressing me ever since. At the small, wretched station, without shelter or food, we had to wait on till nigh midnight before we started, so that instead of reaching Hamilton at 6 p.m. on Friday we only reached it at 3 a.m. on Saturday morning. The Lord be praised, we arrived at last, with unbroken limbs.

Saturday, 8th.—“After a very brief repose, up to breakfast at eight; down to Hamilton to meet with friends, at ten; and at noon on board the steamer on Ontario to Toronto, distant about fifty miles. The

wind blew sharp and cold, the lake was rough. At Toronto Dr. Burns and a whole legion of friends were waiting to receive and shake hands with me. Verily, I was not much in a mood for such a greeting. But I had to make the best of it. Getting to Dr. Burns's house, friends there again, whereas the bed was the only proper refuge for poor me. At last I retired, well gone, but praising the God of Providence.

Sunday, 9th.—“Up early to breakfast. Thereafter Dr. Burns asked me to address a large class of seventy or eighty young females taught by Mrs. Burns. I could not decline; though, with heavy work before me, with headache, and cold, and sore throat, I felt it rather much. In the afternoon I preached in Kroom's church—a very large one, and very awfully crowded, passages, pulpit-stairs and all. But, as often before, the Lord out of my weakness perfected His own grace and strength, and impressions were seemingly produced that day which will shoot their results into the ages of eternity. At the top of the pulpit-stairs, close to my right hand, among other notables, was Mackenzie, one of the chief leaders of the rebellion of 1838, for whose head then our Queen offered a thousand pounds. He is a very talented man, but a notorious scoffer at religion. On coming home Dr. Burns expressed his apprehension and belief that Mackenzie was there only to get materials for a scoffing article in a paper of which he is editor. How strange! next morning (Monday) Mackenzie wrote a long letter to Dr. Burns, eulogistic in the highest degree. In my first prayer I had alluded to the motive that may have brought many there, referring to the case of Zaccheus. Mackenzie, in his letter, said that Zaccheus-like (he is himself a little man) he had indeed gone to church that day, and finding no seat in a pew, and no sycamore tree to climb, he mounted to the top of the

pulpit-stairs, and there was arrested in a way he never was before by Divine truth ; and then he entered into a long and admiring dissertation on the speaker and his subject. Oh, that the Lord may render that one of His own arrows sharp in the heart of this once arch-foe of His own cause.

Monday, 10th.—“Up again at eight to breakfast, feverish and head aching, with cold and sore throat. At 9 a.m. a deputation of ministers and office-bearers from the Negro church of Toronto came to me with a written address from the congregation, to which I endeavoured to reply as suitably as I could. It was a warm, hearty and delightful interview. My soul yearned in longing over these representatives of poor Africa’s much injured children, while I could not help exulting at the liberty on British soil. Most of these and their fellows were once slaves in *free* America, and, as fugitives, became free men the instant they touched the British soil. One foot across *it*, and the whole United States are defied to meddle with them. Thanks be to God, ‘slaves cannot breathe in England,’ no, nor in any corner of any British territory all over the world! After the deputation callers began to come in. I went again and again to my bedroom for a little repose. In vain. No sooner in than rap, rap, rap at my door. This important personage and that calling, I must see them, and so on to 2 p.m., when we had some dinner. At three had to address a class of elderly persons. At four had to go to Knox’s College and address assembled students thereof, with those of other colleges united on the occasion, together with professors and ministers. Between six and seven went home to prepare for a *social* party at Dr. Burns’s. I thought there would be a dozen or so; but lo, some six or seven dozen of the notabilities of Toronto came pouring in. Of course, after tea I had to address

them for an hour or two. Then supper; then bed about midnight, lying down like a rotten log of wood, as nerveless and sapless.

Tuesday, 11th.—“Up to breakfast with some chief personages in the town; a gathering there again, with endless talk. Thereafter visited model normal school, lunatic asylum, and other public institutions, and this one and that one, bedridden or sick, who must see me and shake hands. Really it was dreadful, considering that *the* great public meeting was to be that same evening. At 7 p.m. the meeting in the biggest church of Toronto, crammed to suffocation with 3,000 people. Obliged to speak in a stifling exhausted atmosphere for nearly three hours, to an audience whose attention never for a moment flagged. Little knew they, however, at what cost of life-blood to the speaker. Home about eleven, and tried, rather in vain, to rest.

Wednesday, 12th.—“Up again, for what? a thing of all others most hateful to me—a public breakfast. About five hundred ladies and gentlemen were there. Of course it was meant as the greatest possible compliment to me; but jaded as I was, the very prospect of it was agonizing. But being there, what could I do but speak again—which I did for an hour, Dr. Burns afterwards telling me that it was perhaps the most telling of all my addresses; though when ended I could not myself tell what I had said. From the breakfast off post-haste to a meeting of presbytery—addressing there again. At noon, presbytery and other ministers and students, and hundreds of laity, off with me to see me on board the steamer for Kingston. Kingston, where a son of Dr. Burns is minister, is about 180 miles east of Toronto, on the same side of the lake. Dr. Burns resolved to accompany me thither. As the steamer started the hundreds on the wharf

took off their hats and gave me three cheers. In fact, the whole of the proceedings there were marked by an enthusiasm throughout which was quite oppressive. At Coburg, about half-way to Kingston, and the seat of a presbytery, the steamer was to stop for a few minutes, and the captain agreed to remain two hours to let me and Burns go on shore, where it was said some friends waited to shake hands with me. We arrived at 7 p.m.; friends were standing on the wharf. I was soon in a carriage and off to the distance of a mile, and ushered pell-mell into a church crowded and crammed with people, and without delay taken to the pulpit, where I had to address the vast audience. I went on until the loud tolling of the steamer bell warned that it was time to get on board. So about half-past nine we hurried on board, and the cabin I got into was so cold that I could not change in it; and in this way by morning my own cold was increased.

Thursday, 13th.—“At six o’clock reached Kingston; cold, sharp, frosty wind; masses of ice all around. The city contains about 12,000 inhabitants; Toronto has 40,000. It was once the seat of government, and a very handsome and beautiful town it is, with many fine stone buildings. During the day visited the Castle, the strongest next to Quebec in Canada; on it a million sterling has been lavished. Visited also the Penitentiary, with 500 inmates in it, mostly employed in trades—carpentry, shoemaking, etc., so that the product of the work nearly sustains it. I saw many of the chief inhabitants. There, however, popery is in the ascendant. At night a great public meeting in the city hall; ministers of all denominations there, and among the rest two or three Kirk or Establishment ministers and professors, as their theological college is at Kingston. Then an address (written) was delivered

to me in the name of all the churches. Gave a long address in reply. Much heartiness and goodwill, and apparent good accomplished.

Friday, 14th.—“Up early, as a public breakfast was to be encountered at eight o'clock. Had to give a long address there again; and from the breakfast hurried into the steamer that was to take me to Ogdensburg, at the east end of the lake, some seventy or eighty miles on my way to this place. The one thousand islands, as they are called, commence. They are of all sizes, from a small one fit only to support a few shrubs or trees, up to miles in length. They say there are really fifteen hundred of them in all, large and small. They are more or less rocky and wooded, but not much elevated above the water. In summer, when covered with green foliage, they must look very beautiful, and a sail through them must be enchanting. They want, however, rising grounds or hills beyond; but instead of hills there is a vast flat country on both sides. The islands are in the narrows, or where the lake gradually narrows into the river. Reached Ogdensburg, on the south or American (New York) side of the St. Lawrence, about eleven at night, as they had to go slowly on account of the masses of floating ice. It was cold, dark, and wet; no vehicle to the inn, so the captain advised me to sleep on board, which I did. In the morning, after a very weary night, rose like a lump of ice, and crushed with racking headache. Started by rail at seven for Mover's Junction, about one hundred miles due east, in the state of New York, and about forty miles due south from Montreal. We reached it about noon. Messrs. Fraser and Inglis, the Free Church ministers of this city, were waiting to convey me thither. It was two before we started. About four we reached the St. Lawrence, about ten miles west of the city.

Montreal is near the east end of a large island, above twenty miles long, with a considerably elevated wooded ridge along its eastern half called the 'Mountain.' It is surrounded by the united waters of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa River, a mighty stream too, which comes from the north-west, and combines with the St. Lawrence at the western extremity of the island. The French called the hill 'Mont Royal,' corrupted into Montreal. We crossed the river in a steamer, where, from the rapidity of the current, it seldom is frozen over; thence by rail for ten miles to this city of 60,000 inhabitants—mostly French papists, with rich endowments and vast establishments, cathedrals, churches, colleges, and convents. There Mr. Redpath—whom with his wife I met two years ago at Mr. Lewis's of Leith, being excellent godly persons—was waiting with his carriage to take me to his house about half-way up the mountain, along which are many very fine gentlemen's residences, and commanding a noble view of the city and river and country beyond. I was so ill that I had soon to get to bed, but very thankful to the kind and gracious Providence which brought me under the roof of Christian people.

Sabbath, 16th.—"About eight, Mr. R. came in to see how I was. The moment he looked at me, he said, 'You are not fit to preach to-day; and, however great the disappointment to us, we dare not see you risk your life.' Well, I was so ill with headache, sore throat, and oppressed chest, that I was compelled to say that I felt unable to leave bed, far less preach. So he wrote instantly to Mr. Fraser to notify this. I felt much indeed for the latter, but what could I do? I was laid low, and could not do what I was providentially disabled from attempting. Poorly indeed all day, but most precious and soul-reviving meditation. ~~had~~ praised for the discipline.

Monday, 17th.—“Still much oppressed with the cold. It was a fine sunshiny though slightly frosty day. At noon we went in the carriage to the river side, here all frozen over though two miles broad. Men, and horses, and sleighs, and wagons cross it still, the ice being the only bridge for four months. Masses float down from above, get under the ice, heave it up, and thus swell the bulk. Then sometimes vast snow-falls, followed by a little rain; then the intense frost binding up all in one consolidated icy fabric, the roads cut across through the masses of ice. Here now, with only occasional bare patches, the whole ground is covered with snow three or four feet deep. A large company of friends had been invited to meet me in the evening. So, poorly as I was, I was obliged to see them. I spoke to them, as far as my head and throat would allow, for an hour or two.

Tuesday night, 18th.—“This morning decidedly better, though still a sufferer. Kept as quiet as I could all day, to be ready for the great meeting in the evening. It was a vast one of 3,000 people, densely pressed together. The Lord enabled me in my weakness to speak with more than ordinary unction, power and faithfulness. The impressions were evidently intense. Ministers and all seemed to be in the dust, and with shame confess their past shortcomings. The Lord be praised!

Wednesday, 19th.—“This morning a great public breakfast was given to me, and I had to speak again. Hundreds were there, and I saw them so interested, that I spoke on and on. No one having moved I was unconscious of time, until when I concluded, I looked at my watch and found it one p.m.; I had spoken three hours. And though most of them were business people not one stirred. They seemed greatly moved and impressed, and the varied addresses delivered by

several of the number were really thrilling. They all thanked me for the faithfulness with which I spoke the truth to them; declared my visit to be to them an ‘angel visit;’ that I must have been sent by Christ the Head to rouse them from their apathy; that they could not now think of the past without shame and sorrow; that they must resolve before God to do henceforth what they never did before. It was most affecting also. It seemed as if we could never part—and such a parting, with many a tear! It was a scene for a painter. God in mercy grant that these impressions may be permanent. It is thus ever with Him. He brought me low. This brought my soul into closer communion with Himself, and when raised up, I spoke like one who had come out from the sanctuary after a gracious and glorious interview. Praise be to His holy name! Hallelujah! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.

“I meant to have gone to Quebec; but now find I cannot—a sore disappointment. Sir James Alexander wrote to me from Government House, and other influential individuals, pressing me to visit Quebec. I fully was bent on going; but to my grief find that the river is not yet open for steamers.”

Dr. Duff turned back to New York, giving up his intention of going home by Halifax, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in order to attend a catholic Missionary Convention, the first of the kind that had been held in the States. Throughout two days, the 4th and 5th of May, after fresh addresses in the Broadway Tabernacle, to the young men of the city on religious education, at various religious anniversaries, and to a select circle of its leading men on his own work in India, he guided the deliberations on Foreign Missions of nearly three hundred evangelical clergymen, from all parts of the West. He closed the proceedings with

met with to my appeals from many of our godly ministers, and office-bearers, and general membership, I must say, with regard to the Free Church as a whole, that response is not what I would wish, or had even reasonably anticipated. What was my thought, and that of the other missionaries in India, before coming to this country? We did not expect great things for India at the very time you were first engaged in this country in raising churches, manses, and schools, but we did expect, when these were to some good extent finished, that something mighty and worthy of her great name, and noble contendings for the Redeemer's Headship, not only over the Church but the nations, would be done for the world at large. When you were, in the providence of God, driven, as it were, out of the old Establishment, for adherence to great Bible principles, it was not surely that you might sustain and perpetuate the blessings you enjoyed among yourselves alone. Was that the only end you had in view? If so, you would be resisting the progress of Christianity, and fighting against that Divine law to which I referred at the outset of my address. We certainly expected that when the noble vessel then begun was finished and launched upon the great deep, it would be found directing its course to other countries, and bearing, in proportions worthy and commensurate, its rich treasures of gospel truth and gospel grace to every region of the earth. But, alas, we are waiting for that day yet. When will it come?—that is the question. Looking at it, then, in this light, there is, on the one hand, much to thank God for; but there is, on the other hand, much to plead against. Oh, do not, I solemnly adjure you, in the name of the living God, do not settle down on your privileges; do not settle down on the mere fact that you have fought a great battle and gained a great victory; that you have, as it were, the ark of the Covenant, the ark of the living God, with its priceless Jewel, the Headship of the Redeemer, in your keeping;—for if, in the spirit of indolence or contracted selfishness, you keep it idly to yourselves, instead of proving your safety, it will prove your destruction. I long, therefore, for the time when the Church shall rise up and face the whole question, not in the light of a paltry and wretched carnalizing expediency, but in the light of God's own unchanging truth. I believe that neither this Church nor any other Church has, as a whole, yet

fully estimated the magnitude of the work to be done, or the force and resources of the enemy to be contended with; and that you and all the rest have only hitherto been, as it were, *playing at missions!*

Dr. Duff then glanced at a few things that might be done,—pointing to the necessity of fervent prayer for the effusion of the Spirit of all grace, dwelling on the service which Christian mothers could render to the missionary cause in moulding the minds of their children, and giving them a bent in this direction,—how Christian instructors, when teaching their pupils geography, could fix their thoughts upon countries where missionary labour was required, and could make a great impression upon their minds by a few simple remarks,—and also the great opportunities enjoyed by ministers in creating an interest in this department of the Lord's cause in their ordinary pulpit ministrations and in their prayers. He urged the instituting of a professorship on missionary subjects, or evangelistic theology, by which means the minds of the young men studying for the ministry would be imbued with a missionary spirit. . . . If I had a congregation in any great city, I would act thus: not confining my home evangelistic labours to week-days, or even the mornings or evenings of Sabbath-days, I would from time to time say to my people—‘It is not right that you should be fed with what you reckon the highest seasoned food twice every Sabbath, whilst there are myriads perishing without, at our very doors, for lack of all food. We must cease to be selfish,—you must deny yourselves, and I must deny myself; and therefore in the afternoon I will get another person to take my place in the pulpit. He may not be so entirely to your tastes as your own pastor, but if not, he will at least give you wholesome and sound truth upon which to feed; and you are to remember that at the moment when he is addressing you, I am down yonder speaking to poor souls who have never got any of the bread that came down from heaven; and therefore in your prayers remember them and me.’ Ah! methinks were that done for a Sabbath or two, the minister might be able, when in his own pulpit, to set before his flock intelligence which would refresh their own souls, informing them that one had been yonder, and another here. Then might the slaves , be awakened in many a soul.

and it would be felt that self-denying benevolence was its own reward. And, then, why should this evangelistic process be confined to the ministry? Why should not all the godly membership of the Church take their share, according to their varying capacities and opportunities, in this blessed work some in one way, and some in another? . . Surely Paganism itself can scarcely be so hateful to a righteous God, as that barren orthodoxy of mere abstract belief, and idle talk, and unproductive profession. Ah! were this better spirit to prevail more widely through all Protestant Churches,—the spirit that would prompt men to be not receivers only, but dispensers also, of what they had received,—the spirit that would lead all ecclesiastical bodies to make the doing of some active work for the Lord, in His own vineyard, as indispensable a condition of Church membership as the abstract soundness of a creed, and the outward consistency of moral life and conduct, what a strange and happy revolution would soon be effected. How soon would infidelity and home heathenism be cast down, what a new spirit of cunobling self-denial would be evoked, what a spirit of large-heartedness, which would flow forth in copious streams in behalf of a perishing world! Were this realized, we might then suppose that the dawn of millennial glory was upon us. But, alas! alas! though the horizon seemed already reddening with the dawn, the Churches of Christ are still mostly drowsy and fast asleep. Ah! it is this that saddens my own spirit. Of the cause of Christ I have never desponded, and never will. It will advance till the whole earth be filled with His glory. He will accomplish it, too, through the instrumentality of Churches and individual men. But He is not dependent on any particular Church or men. Yea, if any of these prove slothful or negligent, He may in sore judgment remove their candlestick, or pluck the stars out of their ecclesiastical firmament.

"If it were in my power, as I once thought it would have been,—but God brought me low,—it was my intention to have gone largely, not only into these, but also into many other collateral themes, ere I left Scotland. It so happened that originally the Lord in His gracious providence endowed me with a physical frame that fitted me to encounter almost any amount of labour and fatigue with comparative impunity; but from riding, as it were, on the topmost waves of active exertion,

it pleased Him to lay me low ; and, flinging me wholly aside, to address me as it were thus, ' You must now for a time at least retire from your work a shattered and broken man, and learn to bear your soul in patience before the Lord alone. Sit still, away from the world of busy men, and learn the power of solemn silence.' And although I must confess that this was hard to bear, with hundreds of doors of usefulness presenting themselves on every side, and that I convulsively struggled against the sentence, yet He soon made me feel that I was in the grasp of an almighty and invisible power, that held me fast, till I was made to learn the grace of patience and silent enduring submission to His holy will.

" A few years ago, I felt that God in His providence called me to the discharge of a certain work in Scotland. So far as concerns my individual share in it, I now feel that that work has been substantially accomplished. The Foreign Mission Fund,—on whose prosperity all our operations in India and Africa must, for the present depend,—was in a very dilapidated state. By God's blessing, that Fund has been rescued from its tottering state of insecurity, and placed on a stable and permanent foundation through the working of the associational plan, with its regular quarterly subscriptions and prayer-meetings, in the great majority of the influential congregations of the Church ; while in amount it has been doubled or trebled ; all that is required being the maintenance of the present system through proper agency and periodic visitation, as well as the extension of it to all the remaining congregations. And as the spirit of Missions rises in the Church, present contributions may even be indefinitely enlarged. And now, this my home work being for the present finished, while exigencies of a peculiar kind appear to call me back again to the Indian field, I cheerfully obey the summons ; and despite its manifold ties and attractions, I now feel as if, in fulness of heart, I can say, Farewell to Scotland."

Leaving these and many other such words behind him for the quickening of the Churches, Dr. Duff, with his wife, set out from Edinburgh on the 13th of October for India, for the third time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1856-1858.

THE MUTINY AND THE NATIVE CHURCH OF INDIA.

Through Central India to Calcutta.—The First Day in the Free Church and in the Institution.—Sir Henry Durand's Account of the Reunion.—Mutterings of the Storm.—The Santal Insurrection and Missionary Memorial to Government.—The Enfield Cartridges.—The Meerut and Delhi Massacres.—Dr. Duff's Twenty-five Letters.—Handling the Musket.—Confidence in the Lord.—Plots and Panics in Calcutta.—The Centenary of Plassey.—The Massacre at Futtehghur.—The Horrors of Cawnpore.—Death of Sir Henry Lawrence.—British Troops in Cornwallis Square.—Mercy and the Gospel.—Fatal Optimism of the Calcutta Authorities.—Fall of Delhi and Relief of Lucknow.—John Lawrence in the Punjab and Edwardes at Peshawur.—Death of Sir Henry Havelock.—Durand's Successful Operations.—Lord Canning's Merits and Defects.—Bishop Wilson at Eighty.—Dr. Duff's famous Patriotic Sermon—Christian Statesmanship of John Lawrence.—Growth of the Church of India.—Its Roll of Martyrs and Confessors.—Thomas Hunter of Sialkot.—Gopeenath Nundi, his Wife and Children.—Robert Tucker's Martyrdom at Futtahpore.—The Bengalee and his Wife witness a good Confession.—Loyalty of the Native Church of India.—Duff's Sympathy with the Educated Natives who suffered.

THE one condition on which the physicians allowed Dr. Duff to return to India was that he should still, for six months, abstain from work of all kinds, while he sought the climate of the Mediterranean or of Egypt for another winter. He reasoned that the dry and bracing yet mild air of the Dekhan, or uplands of Central India, is quite as invigorating to the invalid, while there he could return to his loved duties of missionary overseer. Setting out from Trieste, he and Mrs. Duff joined the mail steamer at Suez, but without their baggage. For the first few days in the

Red Sea, their fellow-passengers were busied preparing a wardrobe for each. While Mrs. Duff went on by Ceylon and Madras to Calcutta, charged with the care of more than one expectant bride, as is the pleasant duty of Anglo-Indian matrons, her husband joined the Government steamer at Aden for Bombay. There, of course, he forgot all prudence amid the philanthropic temptations of the Western capital. But "the subsequent journey through the delightful region of the Konkan, and the magnificent mountain scenery of Mahableshwar to Satāra, in the edifying society of my beloved friend, Dr. Wilson, soon operated with a reviving effect." From Poona by Ahmednuggur, Aurungabad and Jalna, where now the Rev. Narain Sheshadri conducts the most vigorous native Mission in the peninsula, he reached Nagpore, even then remarkable for the labours of Stephen Hislop, a colleague worthy of Dr. Wilson and himself. Hence by Kampthee, Jubbulpore and Mirzapore he came to Benares and Calcutta, having followed a chain of Christian fortresses across the whole breadth of Northern India. Just before the Sabbath of 17th February he entered his own city, in time to begin the third and last period of his evangelizing work in India, by "preaching the everlasting gospel from the pulpit of the Free Church. After a sublimely impressive prayer from my beloved friend, Mr. Milne, the pastor, I endeavoured, amid a mighty rush and conflict of emotions, to preach to an overflowing audience. After sermon what a greeting with beloved native converts and friends." Among the worshippers was Sir Henry Durand, the grave young lieutenant of the *Lady Holland*, the friend of Judson, and even then among the foremost military statesmen of the empire. From his hotel next day, that officer thus addressed the daughter of his old fellow-voyager :

"When Mr. Milne walked up into the pulpit, and your father sat down in front of it on the opposite side of the aisle to myself, the thought occurred,—six-and-twenty years ago we were on Dassen Island, spending our last day there, and under a roof of a different kind, though gothic too—for the ribs of the whale were then our gothic arches supporting a ship's awning. When the service began, one of the native Christians beside me found the hymn and handed the book to me. I can't tell you how this *not little* event thrilled and struck me. A quarter of a century ago who would have foretold me this? thought I. Well, the service went on, and, finally, your father ascended the pulpit. The last time I heard him preach was on board a ship in 1830; and really, except for a flush which the excitement of the moment fully accounted for, there was remarkably little difference of appearance in the preacher of 1830 and of 1856. If it had not been for the place and the row of native Christians alongside of me, I could have fancied myself a quarter of a century back in the pages of time. When, however, the discourse began, and your father fairly plunged into his subject, the difference between the preacher of 1830 and of 1856 was manifest. Great as were his powers in 1830, a quarter of a century had developed, ripened and invigorated those powers, and the flow of thought, language and illustration must have struck every one as it did myself. But as you were there, I only advert to this when thinking of what he was in 1830. You will have felt the discourse of Sunday last—as all who heard it must have done—as often *marvellously* beautiful and powerful, were it not that the Spirit of God can breathe Its own force into whomsoever It chooses. All the time, however, I felt that the exertion was too great, and I quite dreaded the tension of feeling and mind, and determined to tell you that you should do what you can to keep Dr. Duff from frequent exertions of this exhaustive character. At the end he scarce had strength to read the hymn. When leaving the church I saw that there were many more native Christians present than the row who were under the pulpit; and it pleased me much to observe several native women. How different all this from Dassen Island, and a quarter of a century ago! And who then would have predicted such things? As I drove away I thought,—well, I owe this great treat to Mrs. Watson, and I must thank her for it.

"Another was in store for me. I was sitting in my solitary den in this hotel, when a tap at the door this morning announced some one. It was Dr. Duff. He had very kindly called to take me with him on the occasion of his first visit to the Free Church School and College. It was a very striking sight, the assemblage of Bengalee scholars; and very gratifying must have been to your father the evident pleasure with which the elder scholars and native teachers saw his face again. His address to them was admirable, as you may be sure, and occasionally—when, for instance, he adverted to the juxtaposition of Shiva's temple and the wires of the electric telegraph—there was a laugh which spread like wild-fire, all the young monkeys who neither heard nor understood laughing out of joyous sympathy; but on the whole your father was too much in earnest and under too great emotion to give them much laughing. He spoke to them for some time,—longer, perhaps, than was quite good for himself—but who could be surprised at that, on his first visit to this Institution, his own creation, and one in which the hand of God is, perhaps, more apparent than in any other in India. As I looked at the lines of heads listening to him, Archdeacon Corrie's lament, at the time Government were founding the Hindoo College, recurred to me. 'They will raise only atheists and deists, and infidelity and immorality will be perpetuated under other forms than Hindooism,' was Corrie's prediction to myself in 1830 of the probable fruit of the Hindoo College, then lately commenced. Little did Corrie think that just at that very time a rival Institution, on very different principles, was being founded; and how that good man would have joyed to witness what I saw yesterday and to-day! I shall note this day as one of the bright ones of my career in India, and yesterday too. We have not quite stood still in India for a quarter of a century. Dr. Duff and his coadjutors in labour have, under God's providence, laid the corner-stone of an edifice which must swell into gigantic proportions before another quarter of a century is over. I don't think the new building, large and costly though it seem now, anything more than a mere nursery. There must be many such before long, and that in different quarters of India; but wherever they are and whatever their numbers, Dr. Duff and his first five Hindoo pupils, one of whom I saw to-day, will be remembered as God's chosen instrument."

Lord Canning, Durand's schoolfellow at Eton, took the oaths and his seat in Government House on the last day of February, 1856. There was many a wet eye when, at the historic Ghaut a few days after, the great Marquis of Dalhousie left the East India Company's metropolis. In extent, in resources and in political strength he had developed its territories into an empire able to pass triumphantly through the ordeal of mutiny and insurrection, which the Government at home had invited, in spite of his protests against a reduction of the British garrison in inverse proportion to the addition of a province like anarchic Oudh. For the Crimean War had been succeeded by the Persian expedition, provinces as large as France were almost without an English soldier, and the predicted extinction of the Company's *raj* on the coming centenary of Plassey next year was current. Already had the emissaries of the titular King of Delhi and the richly pensioned descendants of Sivajee and the Maratha Peshwa been abroad, the lions of London drawing-rooms, the keen observers of our early blunders before Sebastopol, envoys to the Shah of Persia, to the great Khans of Central Asia, and to our own feudatory kings. The twelvemonth of 1856-57, during which the new Governor-General was beginning his apprenticeship to affairs, was the lull before the storm which few suspected and not one anticipated in the form in which it burst. Lord Dalhousie had protested in vain against the suicidal withdrawal of so many Queen's regiments and had urged reforms in the sepoy army which the jealous Sir Charles Napier resented. Henry Lawrence had predicted a collapse of some kind if military reorganization were longer postponed.

The missionaries, as the most permanent and disinterested body of observers in the country, had so far shown their uneasiness as to submit to Government

an elaborate memorial on the state of the people. Military reform was not within their ken. But they knew the people as no one else did, and they were the most valuable intermediaries and interpreters between their own foreign Government and their native fellow-subjects, as more than one wise ruler has found, from Lord Wellesley to Lord Northbrook. The condition-of-Bengal question, as it was called, Dr. Duff and Mr. Marshman had represented with effect before the Parliamentary committee on the Charter of 1853, but the corruption of the police and the courts and the oppression of the peasantry could not be prevented in a few years. An insurrection of the simple aborigines of the Santal hills, some two hundred miles west of Calcutta, against the exactions of their Bengalee usurers, had still further let a lurid light into the structure of Hindoo society, without education and still resisting the gospel. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, had not remained uninfluenced by the spirit which, more or less blindly, we encouraged in the Government of their Sultan, in the still vain hope that we might change the leopard's spots. The Wahabee colony, in Patna and on the Punjab frontier, was busily recruiting co-religionists from Eastern Bengal to wage on us the intermittent war which continued from the capture of Delhi in 1857, to the drawn battle of Umbeyla in 1864, and the assassination of a Chief Justice and a Viceroy in 1871. Dimly doubtful whether, after all, Great Britain was not making the mistake of giving new life to the cruel intolerance of Islam, its Christian philanthropists, headed by Sir Culling Eardley, consulted Dr. Duff, among others, as to the law and feeling of the Muhammadans of India regarding the death penalty for apostasy. He collected from the best authorities, Asiatic and Anglo-Indian, a body of opinion which, while it showed that Islam cannot

change, found a horrible commentary in the massacres eight months after.

The leafy station of Dum Dum, almost a suburb of Calcutta, and the scene of Clive's first victory in Bengal, was the head-quarters of the Artillery in the east, as Meerut is still of the same arm in the north-west of India. At Dum Dum there is the Magazine for the manufacture of ammunition, and there, in 1857, was a musketry school for practice with the Enfield rifle, then recently introduced but long since superseded. One of the Magazine workmen, of low caste, having been refused a drink from the "lotah" of a sepoy, who was a Brahman, revenged himself by the taunt that all castes would soon be alike, for cartridges smeared with the fat of kine and the lard of swine would have to be bitten by the whole army, Hindoo and Muhammadan. That remark became the opportunity of the political plotters. The horror, in a wildly exaggerated form, was whispered in every cantonment from Dum Dum to Peshawur. In the infantry and cavalry lines of Barrackpore, a few miles farther up the Hooghly and the Governor-General's summer seat, the alarm was only increased when the General, who knew the sepoys and their language well, assured them that not one of the dreaded cartridges had then been issued, and that the troops might lubricate them for the Enfield grooves with beeswax. It happened —a fact which we now publish for the first time—that several of them had occasionally lounged into the famous manufactory of paper at Serampore on the opposite side of the river, where the cartridge paper was prepared, and there had witnessed the boiling of animal size for other varieties. The Barrackpore, then the Berhampore, then the Meerut, and finally all the sepoys of the Bengal army, ignorant and pampered as spoiled children, honestly believed

that the Enfield cartridge was meant to destroy their caste, and that the new Lord Saheb had been sent out thus to make them Christians, for had not his first order been that all recruits must be enlisted for service across the sea?

Thus opened January, 1857. All the evidence points to the last Sabbath in May, when the Christians should be in church, as the time fixed by the leaders for a general rising, from Calcutta on to the east to Maratha Satara on the west and over the whole land thence to the Himalayas. But the cartridge panic precipitated the catastrophe, broke it into detached attempts, and enabled the Christian civilization of a handful of white men,—not forty thousand at the crisis,—to save the millions of Southern and Eastern Asia. The weakness with which Government treated the attempts at Berhampore and Barrackpore emboldened eighty-five Mussulmans of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut to refuse even to tear off the end of the suspected cartridges with their hands. On Saturday, the 9th May, they were marched to jail in fetters before the rest of the troops; on Sabbath evening the sepoys of all arms rose, freed them and all the convicts, and proceeded to massacre the Europeans, young and old, as they came out of church or were found in the comparatively isolated houses of an Indian station. Military incompetence in the north-west completed what the imbecility of the Calcutta authorities had begun under their own eyes. General Hewitt allowed the maddened sepoys to rage unchecked, and then to march to Delhi to repeat the work of blood. In spite of John Lawrence's protests, General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief who had hurried down from the Capua of Simla, refused to take possession of Delhi while it was still possible to do so. Old Bahadoor Shah, the king, had his temporary revenge for the just refusal of Lord Canning

to allow his son to become his titular successor, and for the order which had warned him to transfer his court from the fortress of the city to a rural palace.

This much will enable our readers to take up the sad yet heroic tale at the point where Dr. Duff became the chronicler, in a series of twenty-five letters which Dr. Tweedie published every fortnight in the *Witness*, and which afterwards, in the form of a volume, ran through several editions. The special value of what we shall quote lies, for the historian of the future, in the picture of Calcutta and the report of contemporary opinion by a missionary whose personal courage was as undoubted as his political experience and discrimination were remarkable. His letters on *The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results* not only supplement but correct the unsatisfactory narrative and speculation of Sir John Kaye, who had long left India and was unconsciously biassed by his official position in Leadenhall Street. The extracts we may best introduce by the reminiscence of the Rev. James Long, whose home in the Amherst Street enclosure of the Church Missionary Society was not far from Cornwallis Square.

"At the period of the Mutiny we both lived in the native part of the town, with the smouldering embers of disaffection all around us. We had a vigilance committee of the Europeans of our part of the suburbs which used to meet in Dr. Duff's house. I applied to the chief magistrate for a grant of arms for our members, but the request was negatived—that official, like most of those in Calcutta, could see no danger though we were at the mouth of a volcano. I mentioned the case to Dr. Duff, and by his advice I laid the request before Lord Canning. A favourable answer was received in a few hours, and muskets were supplied. I shall never forget the gleam of glee that lighted up his face as he handled his musket. He felt with the

men of that day that necessity overrides all conventionalities."

* CALCUTTA, 16th May, 1857.—“We are at this moment in a crisis of jeopardy such as has not occurred since the awful catastrophe of the Black Hole of Calcutta. It is now certain that we narrowly escaped a general massacre in Calcutta itself. There was a deep-laid plot or conspiracy—for which some have undergone the penalty of death—to seize on Fort William, and massacre all the Europeans. The night chosen for the desperate attempt was that on which the Maharaja of Gwalior, when here, had invited the whole European community to an exhibition of fireworks, across the river, at the Botanic Gardens. On that evening, however, as if by a gracious interposition of Providence, we were visited with a heavy storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, so that the grand entertainment of the Maharaja had to be postponed. The European officers, therefore, had not left the Fort; and the object of the conspirators being thus defeated, was soon afterwards brought to light, to the horror of all, and the abounding thankfulness of such as acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord. From all the chief stations in the North-West, intelligence of a mutinous spirit manifesting itself in divers ways has been dropping in upon us for several weeks past. But at this moment all interest is absorbed by the two most prominent cases, at Meerut and Delhi. Such a blow to the prestige of British power and supremacy has not yet been struck in the whole history of British India. All Calcutta may be said to be in sackcloth. The three or four days’ panic during the crisis of the Sikh War was nothing to this. Nearly half the native army is in a state of secret or open mutiny; and the other half known to be disaffected. But this is not all; the populace generally is known to be more or less disaffected. You see, then, how very serious is the crisis. Nothing, nothing but some gracious and signal interposition of the God of Providence seems competent now to save our empire in India. And if there be a general rising—as any day may be—the probability is, that not a European life will anywhere escape the universal and indiscriminate massacre. But my own hope is in the God of Providence. I have a secret, confident persuasion that, though this crisis has been permitted to humble and warn us,

our work in India has not yet been accomplished,—and that until it be accomplished, our tenure of empire, however brittle, is secure.

“Here it is seriously proposed, or suggested, that all the Europeans in Calcutta should be immediately constituted into a local militia, for the defence of life and property in Calcutta and neighbourhood. Already it is known that the Muhammadans have had several night meetings; and when the proclamation of the newly mutineer-installed Emperor of Delhi comes to be generally known, no one can calculate on the result. But never before did I realize as now the literality and sweetness of the Psalmist’s assurance,—‘I laid me down and slept; I awaked: for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people, that have set themselves against me round about. Arise, O Lord; save me, O my God!’ Our son Alexander, poor fellow, is at Meerut, the very centre and focus of mutiny,—and where already Europeans have been massacred, though no names have yet reached us. You may therefore imagine in what a horrible state of suspense and anxiety Mrs. Duff and myself now are. May the Lord have mercy on him and us!

“Benares, where your son is, has as yet been free from actual mutiny; though, doubtless, disaffection is as rife there as elsewhere. Humanly speaking, and under God, everything will depend on our Government being able promptly to re-take the fort of Delhi, and inflict summary chastisement on the mutineer-murderers there. The Governor of Agra is much trusted in, from his firmness and good sense; and he reports that Agra is safe. Oudh, happily, is under Sir Henry Lawrence, the most prompt and energetic officer, perhaps, in the Company’s service. He has already quashed mutiny there in a style which if our Government had only imitated months ago, there would have been an end of the whole matter now.

3rd June.—“Though the Mission House be absolutely unprotected, in the very heart of the native city, far away from the European quarters, I never dreamt of leaving it. . . . Our Mission work in all its branches, alike in Calcutta and the country stations, continues to go on without any interruption, though there is a wild excitement abroad among all classes of natives, which tends mightily to distract and unsettle their minds.

16th June.—“ Calcutta has been in a state of alarm far exceeding anything that had gone before. . . . Our great infantry station, Barrackpore, lies about twelve miles to the north of Calcutta, and on the same side of the river; our artillery station, Dum Dum, about four or five miles to the north-east. To the south is Fort William, and beyond it the great Alipore jail, with its thousands of imprisoned desperadoes, guarded by a regiment of native militia; not far from Alipore is Garden Reach, where the ex-king of Oudh has been residing with about a thousand armed retainers, the Mussulman population, generally armed also, breathing fanatical vengeance on the ‘infidels,’ and praying in their mosques for the success of the Delhi rebels. Calcutta, being guarded by native police only, in whom not a particle of confidence can any longer be reposed, seemed to be exposed on all sides to imminent perils, as most of the European soldiers had been sent to the North-West. In this extremity, and in the midst of indescribable panic and alarm, the Government began to enrol the European and East Indian residents as volunteers, to patrol the streets at night, etc. Happily the 78th Highlanders arrived during the week, and their presence helped to act so far as a sedative. Still, while the city was filled with armed citizens, and surrounded on all sides with armed soldiers, all known to be disaffected to the very core, and waiting only for the signal to burst upon the European population in a tempest of massacre and blood, the feeling of uneasiness and insecurity was intense. Many, unable to withstand the pressure any longer, went to pass the night in central places of rendezvous; numbers went into the fort; and numbers more actually went on board the ships and steamers in the river.

“ On Sabbath (14th) the feeling of anxiety rose to a perfect paroxysm. On Saturday night the Brigadier at Barrackpore sent an express to Government House to notify that, from certain information which he had obtained, there was to be a general rising of the sepoys on Sabbath. Accordingly, before the Sabbath dawned, all manner of vehicles were in requisition to convey all the available European forces to Barrackpore and Dum Dum. Those which had been sent to the north by railway on Saturday were recalled by a telegraphic message through the night. But the public generally had not any distinct intelligence as to the varied movements; and even if they

had, there would be the uttermost uncertainty as to the result. Accordingly, throughout the whole Sabbath-day the wildest and most fearful rumours were circulating in rapid succession.

"The great roads from Barrackpore and Dum Dum unite a little beyond Cornwallis Square, and then pass through it. If there were a rush of murderous ruffians from these military stations, the European residents in that square would have to encounter the first burst of their diabolical fury. It so happened, therefore, that some kind friends, interested in our welfare, wrote to us at daybreak on Sabbath, pointing out the danger, and urging the necessity of our leaving the square. And before breakfast, some friends called in person to urge the propriety of this course. Still, I did not feel it to be my duty to yield to their expostulations. There were others in the square besides my partner and myself. Near us is the Central Female School of the Church of England, with several lady teachers, and some twenty or thirty boarders; the Christian converts' house, with upwards of a dozen inmates; our old Mission home, with its present occupants of the Established Church; in another house an English clergyman, with some native Christians; and in another still, the Lady Superintendent of the Bethune Government School, and her assistants. If one must leave the square, all ought to do so; and I did not consider the alarming intelligence sufficiently substantiated to warrant me to propose to my neighbours a universal abandonment of the square. So I went on with all my ordinary Sabbath duties, altogether in the ordinary way. Almost all the ministers in Calcutta had expostulatory letters sent them, dissuading them from preaching in the forenoon, and protesting against their attempting to do so in the evening. And though, to their credit, no one, so far as I have heard, yielded to the pressure, the churches in the forenoon were half empty, and in the evening nearly empty altogether.

"On Sunday, at five p.m., the authorities, backed by the presence of British troops, proceeded to disarm the sepoys at Barrackpore, Dum Dum, and elsewhere. Through God's great mercy the attempt proved successful. This, however, was only known to a few connected with Government House and their friends, so that the panic throughout Sunday night rose to an inconceivable height. With the exception of another couple,

Mrs. Duff and myself were the only British residents in Cornwallis Square on that night. Faith in Jehovah as our refuge and strength led us to cling to our post; and we laid us down to sleep as usual; and on Monday morning my remark was, 'Well, I have not enjoyed such a soft, sweet, refreshing rest for weeks past.' Oh, how our hearts rose in adoring gratitude to Him Who is the Keeper of Israel, and Who slumbers not nor sleeps! Then we soon learnt the glad tidings that all the armed sepoys had everywhere been successfully disarmed; and that, during the night, the ex-king of Oudh, and his treasonable courtiers, were quietly arrested, and lodged as prisoners of state in Fort William.

CALCUTTA, 24th June, 1857.—“The centenary day of the battle of Plassey (23rd instant) which laid the foundation of our Indian empire, and which native hopes and wishes, and astrological predictions, had long ago fixed on as *the last* of British sway, has passed by; and through God's overruling providence, Calcutta is still the metropolis of British India. But, alas! throughout the whole of the North-West Provinces, all government is at present at an end. The apparently settled peace and profound tranquillity which were wont to reign throughout *British India* in former years, once called forth from an intelligent French traveller the somewhat irreverent but striking remark, that the Government of India was ‘like the good Deity: one does not see it, but it is everywhere.’ So calm, serene and ubiquitous did the power of British rule then appear to be! How changed the aspect of things now! Throughout the whole of the North-West, Government, instead of being in its regulating power and influence everywhere, is, at this moment, literally ‘nowhere.’ Instead of peace and tranquillity, security of life and property, under its sovereign and benign sway, universal anarchy, turbulence, and ruin!—the military stations in possession of armed and bloodthirsty mutineers,—the public treasures rifled,—the habitations of the British residents plundered and reduced to ashes,—numbers of British officers, with judges, magistrates, women, and children, butchered with revolting cruelties,—the remenant portions of the British that have yet escaped, cooped up in isolated spots, and closely hemmed in by myriads that are thirsting for their blood, while bands of armed ruffians are scouring over the country, bent on ravage, plunder, and murder, striking ter-

ror and consternation into the minds of millions of the peacefully disposed !

" Almost the only incident that has yet been brought to light, amid these scenes of dark and unbroken horror, is the fact that a poor wailing British child, found exposed on the banks of the Junna, beyond Delhi, by a faqueer or religious devotee, was taken up by him, and brought to Kurnal, after being carefully nursed and cherished for several days. The parents of the poor infant were unknown, having in all probability been murdered in their attempted flight. But once safely lodged in Kurnal, through the tender care of a dark heathen devotee, in whose bosom the spark of natural humanity still glowed, the child was soon caught up within the circle of British and Christian sympathy, whose special concern is for the poor, the needy, and the destitute.

" The day—the last and fatal day to British power in India, if the vaticinations so long current among all classes of natives were to be trusted—was ushered in amid ten thousand anxieties despite all the preparations that had been made to meet it. What helped to heighten these anxieties was, that, by a singular coincidence, that happened also to be the great day of the annual Hindoo festival of the Ruth Jattra, or pulling of the cars of Jugganath. Of these cars numbers of all sizes have been wont to be pulled along the streets of Calcutta and suburbs. On these occasions the entire latent fanaticism of the Hindoo community has been usually elicited, when the Brahmans and attendant throngs raise and re-echo the loud shouts of 'Victory to Jugganath ; victory to the great Jugyanath.' The day and night, however, have now passed away without any violent outrage anywhere within the bounds of the city ; and we are still in the land of the living this morning, to celebrate anew Jehovah's goodness. Doubtless the knowledge of the vast preparations that were made promptly to put down any insurrection tended, under God, to prevent any, by paralysing the hosts of conspirators under a conviction of the utter hopelessness of success. Moreover, I cannot but note the fact, that our rainy season, which has been somewhat later in commencing this year, began to set in on Sunday, 21st inst., with a violent thunderstorm, since which very heavy showers have continued to fall in rapid succession, accompanied with violent gusts of wind. These gusty tropical showers rendered it par-

ticularly disagreeable for any one to be out on our muddy and half-flooded streets. The very elements thus seemed to conspire, along with the preparations on the part of man, to defeat the counsels and purposes of the wicked, by confining them to their own secret haunts of treason, sedition and meditated massacre.

"The only disturbance in the neighbourhood took place at Agarparah, about half-way between this and Barrackpore. On the afternoon of Tuesday (23rd) a body of between two and three hundred Mussulmans rushed into the Government and Missionary schools, shouting that the Company's raj (or reign) was now at an end, and ordering the teachers, on pain of death, to destroy their English books, and teach no more English in the schools, but only the *Koran*. A violent affray with sticks, bamboos and bricks was the result ; but though a great many heads were broken, no lives were lost. This was a fair indication of the spirit and determination of Muhammadanism generally ; and clearly proves how little not only Christianity, but even western civilization, has to expect from its intolerance, were it once to acquire the ascendancy in this land.

29th June.—" Still no cessation of heavy tidings from the North-West. In one of our journals to-day appears the letter of a correspondent at Allahabad, who, after stating that the destruction of property there was total, thus proceeds :—' Did the report reach you of the massacre of the Futtehghur fugitives ? It passed in atrocity all that has hitherto been perpetrated. A large body of Europeans, men, women, and children, in several boats, left Futtehghur for this ; they were all the non-military residents of the place. On arrival at Bithoor (near Cawnpore), the Nana Saheb fired on them with the artillery the Government allowed him to keep. One round shot struck poor Mrs. —, and killed her on the spot. The boats were then boarded, and the inmates landed and dragged to the parade-ground at Cawnpore, where they were first fired at, and then *literally hacked to pieces with tulwars*, or axe-like swords.

CALCUTTA, 7th July, 1857.—" Alas, alas ! the work of savage butchery still progresses in this distracted land. Not a day passes without some addition, from one quarter or another, to the black catalogue of treachery and murder. This very day Government have received intelligence of one of the foulest

tragedies connected with this awful rebellion. At Cawnpore, one of the largest military stations in Northern India, a mutinous spirit had early manifested itself among the native soldiery, and there were no European troops whatever to keep it in check, except about fifty men who had latterly been sent by Sir Henry Lawrence from Lucknow. But there was one man there whose spirit, energy, and fertility of resource were equal to a number of ordinary regiments—the brave and skilful veteran, Sir Hugh Wheeler. By his astonishing vigour and promptitude of action, he succeeded in keeping in abeyance the mutinous spirit of three or four thousand armed men. At the same time, with the forecasting prudence of a wise general, he began to prepare timeously for the worst, by forming a small entrenched camp, to which ladies, children, and other helpless persons, with provisions, were removed, while most of the British officers took up their abode either in or near it. At last the long-expected rising took place. The mutineers went deliberately to work, according to the prescribed plan followed in other quarters. They broke open the jail and liberated the prisoners; they plundered the public treasury; they pillaged and set fire to the bungalows of the officers and other British residents, killing all indiscriminately who had not effected their escape to the entrenched camp.

"There Sir Hugh and his small handful with undaunted courage held their position against the most tremendous odds, repelling every attack of the thousands by whom they were surrounded, with heavy loss to the rebels. These were at last joined by thousands more of the mutineers from Sultanpore, Seetapore, and other places in Oudh, with guns. The conflict now became terrific,—exemplifying, on the part of the British, the very spirit and determination of old Greece at Thermopylae. The soul of the brave old chief, in particular, only rose, by the accumulating pressure of difficulty, into grander heroism. To the last he maintained a hearty cheerfulness, declaring that he could hold out for two or three weeks against any numbers. With the fall of the chief and some of his right-hand men, the remainder of the little band seem to have been smitten with a sense of the utter hopelessness of prolonged resistance. They did not, they could not, know that relief was so near at hand,—that the gallant Colonel Neil, who had already saved Benares and the fortress of Allahabad with

his Madras Fusiliers, was within two or three days' march of them. Had this been known to them, they would doubtless have striven to hold out during these two or three days; and, to all human appearance, with success. But, ignorant of the approaching relief, and assailed by the cries and tears of helpless women and children, they were induced, in an evil hour, to entertain the overtures made to them by a man who had already been guilty of treachery and murder.

"This man was Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the late Bajee Row, the ex-Peshwa, or last head of the Maratha confederacy, who, for the long period of nearly forty years, resided at Benares, enjoying the munificent pension of £80,000 a-year. This Nana Saheb was allowed, by the bounty of the British Government, to occupy a small fort at Bithoor, not far from Cawnpore. Till within the last few months this man was wont to profess the greatest delight in European society,—to go out with British officers on shooting excursions, and to invite them to fêtes at his residence. And yet, the moment that fortune seems to frown on British interests, he turns round, and, with Asiatic treachery, deliberately plans the destruction of the very men whom he had so often, in the spirit of apparently cordial friendship, feted and feasted. On Sunday, the 28th June, this man, with consummate hypocrisy, of his own accord sent overtures to our beleaguered countrymen,—then bereft of their heroic chieftain,—swearing, 'upon the water of the Ganges, and all the oaths most binding on a Hindoo, that if the garrison would trust to him and surrender, the lives of all would be spared, and they should be put into boats, and sent down to Allahabad.' Under the influence of some infatuating blindness, that garrison that might have possibly held out till relief arrived was induced to trust in these oily professions, and surrender. Agreeably to the terms of the treaty, they were put into boats, with provisions, and other necessaries and comforts. But mark the conduct of the perfidious fiend in human form : No sooner had the boats reached the middle of the river than their sworn protector himself gave a preconcerted signal, and guns, which had been laid for the purpose, were opened upon them from the Cawnpore bank ! yea, and when our poor wretched countrymen tried to escape, by crossing to the Oudh side of the river, they found that arrangements had been made there too for their reception ; for there, such of them as were en-

abled to land were instantaneously cut to pieces by cavalry that had been sent across for the purpose. In this way nearly the whole party, according to the Government report,—consisting of several hundreds, mostly helpless women and children,—were destroyed ! such of the women and children as were not killed being reserved probably as hostages.

20th July.—“Heavier and heavier tidings of woe ! About a week ago it was known that Sir Henry Lawrence—whose defence of Lucknow with a mere handful, amid the rage of hostile myriads, has been the admiration of all India—had gone out to attack a vast body of armed rebels ; that his *native* force, with characteristic treachery, had turned round upon him at the commencement of the fight—and that, with his two hundred Europeans, he had to cut his way back, with Spartan daring, to the Residency. It was also known that, on that occasion, the brave leader was severely wounded ; and two days ago intelligence reached us, which, alas ! has since been confirmed, that on the 4th instant he sunk under the effects of his wounds. What shall I say ? It is impossible for me to express the grief of heart which I feel in thus recording the death of Sir Henry Lawrence. In his character were singularly blended the heroic chivalry of the old Greek and the inflexible sternness of the old Roman, in happy combination with the tenderness of a patriarch, and the benevolence of the Christian philanthropist. In him the native army, through whose murderous treachery he prematurely fell, has lost its greatest benefactor ; while the girls' and boys' schools, founded by his munificence on the heights of the Himalaya, of Mount Aboo, and of the Neelgherris, must testify through coming ages to the depth and liveliness of his interest in the welfare of the British soldier's family in this burning foreign clime. I mourn over him as a personal friend,—one whose friendship resembled more what we sometimes meet with in romance rather than in actual everyday life. I mourn over him as one of the truest, sincerest, and most liberal supporters of our Calcutta Mission. I mourn over him as the heaviest loss which British India could possibly sustain in the very midst of the most terrible crisis of her history.

4th August.—“Meanwhile we cannot be too grateful to God for our exemption in Calcutta from actual outbreak. There has been no end of alarm and panic. For some time the authorities

looked on with something like infatuated blindness and indifference. At last they have been fairly aroused. The discovery of plot after plot, for a general rise of the natives and massacre of the Europeans,—the recently detected design of sixty sworn desperadoes to enter Fort William by scaling ladders in the night, murder the guards, and rescue the ex-king of Oudh,—the ascertained fact that, within the last two months, tens of thousands of muskets and other arms have been sold to Muhammadans and other natives,—the presentment of the Grand Jury, and a memorial from the Christian inhabitants imploring the Government to disarm the native population,—these and many other circumstances combined, at last roused our authorities to action. And as on Saturday last commenced the Muhammadan festival of the *Bukra Eed*, to last for three days, strong parties of British troops, with picquets of volunteers, were posted all over the town. We had forty British soldiers in Cornwallis Square, who found quarters in our old Institution, while the officer in command was our guest. In the Muhammadan quarter some cannon were also planted. The preparations were so complete, that any attempt at a successful rise was felt to be impracticable; and so, by God's great goodness, the festival has passed over without disturbance or bloodshed. The Mohurrum is approaching; and to it all are looking with gloomiest apprehensions. But our trust is in the Lord, Who hitherto has so wonderfully interposed for our deliverance.

"Amid our personal sorrows and horror at the barbarities of the misguided sepoys and their allies, we, as Christians, have much need to watch our own spirits, lest the longing for retribution may swallow up the feeling of mercy. Already we begin to perceive here a recoil and reaction against the natives generally. But, as Christians, ought we not to lay it to heart, that the men who have been guilty of such outrages against humanity have been so just because they never, never came under the regenerating, softening, mellowing influences of the gospel of grace and salvation? And their diabolical conduct, instead of being an argument against further labour and liberality in attempting to evangelize this land, ought to furnish one of the most powerful arguments in favour of enhanced labour and liberality.

5th September.—“The British people should be jealously on their guard against the fair-weather representations of men high

in office,—men who from personal intercourse know nothing of native sentiment beyond the glozing lies of a few fawning sycophants,—men who, from motives of political partisanship and personal self-interest, are sorely tempted to mistake the apparent calm on the upper surface for peace, contentment, and loyalty. It is but right that the British people, to whom the God of Providence has so mysteriously entrusted the sovereignty of this vast Indian empire, should know the real state of native feeling towards us and our power, that they may insist on a searching scrutiny into the causes which may have superinduced it, and, detecting the causes, may demand, as with a voice of thunder, some commensurate remedy. Their own character, their reputation for philanthropy and justice among the nations, and, above all, their own sense of stewardship and accountability to the great God for the amazing trust committed to them, all challenge them to a speedy and authoritative interposition in this terrific crisis of their paramount power in Asia. If they refrain, the certainty is, that though our gallant soldiers may, at the cost of torrents of human blood, effect and enforce an apparent pacification, there will not be introduced the elements of a permanent peace. Measures will be devised which, by their inadequacy and unadaptedness—

“Can only skin and film the ulcerous part,
While rank corruption, mining all within,
Infects unseen.”

Railways, and telegraphs, and irrigating canals, and other material improvements, *alone* will not do. Mere secular education, sharpening the intellect, and leaving the heart a prey to all the foulest passions and most wayward impulses, will not do. Mere legislation, which, in humanely prohibiting cruel rites and barbarous usages, goes greatly ahead of the darkened intelligence of the people, will not do. New settlements of the revenue, and landed tenures, however equitable in themselves, alone will not do. Ameliorations in the present monstrous system of police and corrupting machinery of law courts, however advantageous, alone will not suffice. A radical organic change in the structure of government, such as would transfer it exclusively to the Crown, would not, could not, of itself furnish an adequate cure for our deep-seated maladies. No, no! Perhaps the present earthquake shock which has passed over Indian

society, upheaving and tearing to shreds some of the noblest monuments of material civilization, as well as the most improved expedients of legislative and administrative wisdom, has been permitted to prove that all merely human plans and systems whatsoever, that exclude the life-awakening, elevating, purifying doctrines of gospel grace and salvation, have impotence and failure stamped on their wrinkled brows. Let, then, the Christian people of the highly favoured British Isles, in their heaven-conferred prerogative, rise up, and, resistless as the ocean in its mighty swell, let them decree, in the name of Him that liveth for ever and ever, that henceforward those commissioned by them to rule over and administer justice to the millions of this land shall not dare, in their public acts and proclamations, practically to ignore or scornfully repudiate the very name and faith of Jesus, while they foster and honour the degrading superstitions of Brahma and Muhammad. Let the British Churches, at the same time, arise and resolve, at whatever cost of self-denial, to grapple in right earnest, as they have never yet done, with the stupendous work of supplanting the three thousand years' consolidated empire of Satan in these vast realms, by the establishment of Messiah's reign. Then, instead of the fiendish howl, with its attendant rapine, and conflagration, and massacre, we shall have millennial songs of gratitude and praise from the hearts and lips of ransomed myriads. Who can tell but that He who 'rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm' may graciously overrule our present terrible calamities for the hastening on of this glorious consummation?—‘Amen,’ let us respond, ‘Yea, and Amen.’

1st October.—“To-day the consummating message has reached Government by telegraph from Cawnpore, in these curt but emphatic terms: ‘Delhi is entirely ours. God save the Queen! Strong column in pursuit.’ This brief but significant message, together with the previous ones, must, as you may readily suppose, have thrown strangely conflicting currents of joy and sadness into the heart of a community already painfully agitated by the doubtful fate of Lucknow, and the disastrous rumours from other quarters,—joy, at the final re-capture of the great stronghold of the rebels, the continued possession of which threw a halo of glory and triumph over their cause in the eyes of the millions of India,—sadness, at the uncertain fate of hundreds of beloved relatives and

friends who may be found among the slain. Verily, it is a time for joining 'trembling with our mirth.' It is a time in which we have to sing of 'mercy and of judgment.' Jehovah's right arm, with its glittering sword of justice, has swiftly descended upon us; but in His great goodness we have not been wholly consumed. And in the midst of deserved wrath He is remembering undeserved mercy this day.

2nd October.—“To-day a brief telegraphic message from Cawnpore has announced at last the relief of the Lucknow garrison by General Havelock’s force. There must, however, have been desperate fighting, as the message reports four hundred killed and wounded, and among the former General Neil, the brave Madras officer who saved Benares and the fortress of Allahabad. He had, by his own deeds since he arrived amongst us,—deeds indicative of soldierly qualities of the very highest order,—become a universal favourite. And this day, I verily believe that his death will be mourned over by the whole of our Calcutta community, like that of a personal friend.

6th October.—“The case of Peshawur, the remotest and most critically situated of all the Punjab stations, is most remarkable and instructive. The Muhammadan population of that city is singularly fanatical. The city is encompassed with hill tribes as daring as they are fanatical. The first British Political Resident there, after the conquest of the Punjab, full of antiquated antichristian fears, declared that so long as he lived there should not be a Christian mission beyond the Indus. Subsequently, the Resident was assassinated by a Muhammadan fanatic. His successor was the famous Major Edwardes, of Mooltan celebrity,—a man who, happily, fears God and loves the Saviour and His cause. When it was proposed to establish a mission at Peshawur, he at once fearlessly headed it, and openly declared, in substance, that the Christianization of India ought to be regarded as the ultimate end of our continued possession of it. At the outbreak of the great rebellion, nearly the whole of the native regiments (eight in number) at the station showed symptoms of disaffection and mutiny. Most of them had to be disarmed; and one of them has since been cut to pieces. In the midst of these frightful internal troubles, and surrounded on all sides with a fiercely fanatical people, what were the missionaries to do? If they were even called on

by the authorities to pause for a season, no one could have been much surprised. But no; Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, and Mr. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, of the Punjab, in reference to them, in substance replied, 'Let the preaching and other missionary operations by no means be suspended.' Oh, how true the saying, 'Them that honour Me I will honour!' At Peshawur, amidst almost unparalleled difficulties, the British have been able to hold their own; the Punjab has been preserved in tranquillity; and not only so, but has been able to furnish nearly all the troops that have now so triumphantly recaptured Delhi! Are not these suggestive facts? Indeed it is scarcely too much to say, that it is the Punjab which has mainly saved our Indian empire.

8th December.—“The relief of Lucknow and the victory of Cawnpore are, in themselves, joyous events. But the former was accomplished at the cost of scores of officers and hundreds of men, killed and wounded,—bringing sorrow and bereavement into the bosom of many a family circle. And amongst the killed we have now to reckon one whose death will be felt as a *national* loss. At the close of my last letter, I found myself writing under an uncontrollable impulse of sadness, at the bare thought of the friends or acquaintances (then unknown) who might or must have fallen amid the terrific conflicts at Lucknow. At the very time I was writing, another of our immortal leaders, General Havelock, was expiring of fatigue and wounds, in the midst of those whom his own intrepid bravery had relieved. I knew him personally, having been privileged to make his acquaintance many years ago, under the hospitable roof of the late revered Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, whose son-in-law he was. Somewhat stern and reserved he was in manner, yet you could not be long in his presence without finding that he was a man who feared God,—and that, fearing God, he feared nought else besides. It was this holy reverential fear of God that was the real source of his undaunted courage in the discharge of duty, at whatever peril to life or fortune. His, in this respect, was the genuine spirit of the old English Puritan,—the very spirit of Oliver Cromwell and his compeers. And the tendency was to turn the British soldiers, under his exclusive moulding, into a phalanx of modern Ironsides. He was the first of our Generals who distinctly recognised the hand of God in his surprising victories

over the mighty host of rebel mutineers. "By the blessing of God I have captured Cawnpore," were the first words of his memorable telegraphic despatch from that scene of one of the strangest and bloodiest tragedies ever enacted on the stage of time. Faithful as a patriot warrior to his earthly sovereign, he lived to receive from her gracious Majesty a first instalment of honour and reward, and to hear how a grateful country had hailed his great services with unbounded admiration and applause. But faithful also as a soldier of the Cross to his Sovereign in the skies, he has now gone to receive a far greater honour, and inherit a vastly nobler recompence of reward. He has gone, ripe in grace, to fructify in glory ! What a transition ! From the confused noise of battle, to the hallelujahs of angels ! From garments rolled in blood, to the pure white robes of the redeemed in Immanuel's land.

24th December.—"This mail will convey further accounts of successes gained over the rebels in different parts of India. As to the vastness of the field, one has only to cast one's eye over a good map, and note the scenes of Colonel Durand's recent successful operations at Mhow, Dhar, and Mundesor, to the west and north of Indore, in the great province of Malwa, Central India ; then, at the scenes of Brigadier Showers' equally successful operations at Kurnal, and other places to the west and north of Delhi ; then at the great heart of all our troubles, Oudh, with its adjacent provinces, where our brave Commander-in-Chief has of late been adding to his immortal laurels ; and lastly, run along Jubbulpore, Saugor, and other stations in the Nerbudda territories, where our countrymen are still helplessly hemmed in on all sides ; or around the western, northern, and eastern frontiers of Bengal, where bands of mutineers and rebels are scouring the country, plundering the villages, and perpetuating a chronic state of consternation and panic,—one has only calmly to survey all this, to be impressed with a deep sense of the greatness of the work that is before us, ere we can look for the complete restoration of tranquillity and order.

"As regards individuals, I have on principle abstained from naming any, except when I have had something good to say of them. Of the present head of the Government I have written in strong terms, where his measures were such that I could conscientiously do so. This I can truly say, that I believe no

Governor-General ever came to India with a more sincerely honest desire to do what he could towards the material improvement of the country, and the intellectual and social advancement of the people. His conduct relative to the admission of the evidences of revealed religion into the examinations for degrees in our Indian Universities, was altogether admirable. In the subject of native female education, and the re-marriage of Hindu widows, thousands of whom are mere children, he took the profoundest interest. For months before the outbreak of the mutinies, he was labouring to secure full and accurate information relative to the exposure of the sick on the banks of the Ganges, and the monstrous system of Koolin polygamy, with a prospective view to possible legislative measures. His manly bearing and prompt energy, after tidings had reached of the awful massacres at Meerut and Delhi, gained him at the time general admiration. And if, in the subsequent course and progress of the great rebellion, measures have been proposed and adopted, with at least his sanction,—measures which, to most of the non-government British residents here appeared incommensurate with the requirements of the terrible exigency, still, I could not join in the hue and cry raised against him,—could be no party to the memorial for his recall, because I felt that sufficient allowance had not been made for the unexpected novelty and extraordinary difficulties of his position,—difficulties more than enough to try the nerves of a Clive or Warren Hastings. Had not all incipient projects of an ameliorative character been suddenly arrested by the volcanic eruption which has upheaved the very foundations of the long established order of things, my decided impression was, and still is, that he would have proved one of the most useful and successful peace-governors whom India ever had. And in a crisis so very peculiar, if not unprecedented, it is undoubtedly easier to find fault with the doings of one man, than to point unerringly to another who would have steered the vessel of state with less damage through the breakers.

"But whilst the proceedings of individuals, especially in situations of great and complicated embarrassment, ought to be treated with the utmost possible leniency and forbearance, little favour need be shown to persistence in a wrong or mistaken policy. Now, it is the old 'traditional policy' of the Home

and Foreign Indian Government, and the system of action which has naturally sprung out of it, under which we have been really groaning. Perhaps the most distinguishing quality of ‘the policy’ has been its shrinking dread, if not actual repudiation, of Christianity, and its co-relative pandering to heathenish prejudices; while the unworthy system of which it is the parent has been partly nurtured and consolidated by the past exclusiveness and high predominance of the civil service, with the peculiar airs and habitudes of thought, feeling, and action, which such exclusiveness and predominance could not fail to generate. But such a representation of the policy and the system does not in any way impeach the personal honour or integrity of the men who are its chief hereditary upholders. Far from it. On every fitting occasion have I cordially testified to the undisputed claim of the civil service; as a class, to the possession of these qualities. There have, too, at all times been individual members of the service pre-eminently noted for meekness, gentleness, and amiableness of disposition,—men who have nobly risen above its caste-conventionalities, distinctive usages, and marked tendencies to overweening conceit and overbearing arrogance. Still, the system, as a whole, both as regards its own intrinsic nature and extrinsic working and development, is generally felt out here to be very much what I so freely and bluntly characterized it in a previous communication. And it is from the shackles of this system that all independent minds for the sake of India and the cause of truth and righteousness, are sighing for deliverance.”

The time came when, delivered from the purely bureaucratic influences of councillors who knew nothing of the people of India outside of Lower Bengal, and planted at Allahabad to superintend the tardy process of the reconstruction of the administrative machine, Lord Canning himself confessed to Sir William Muir that he would have done things very differently if he had known the facts. His terrible failure to disarm the sepoys at Dinapore, in spite of the example and the entreaty of John Lawrence,

directly permitted, if it did not invite, all the subsequent horrors, from Benares and Allahabad to Cawnpore and Lucknow, by delaying or detaining the precious British troops which would otherwise have been at once hurried on from the Raneegunge railway station to Cawnpore, as John Lawrence sent his to Delhi. For this the system of party politics which sends out an inexperienced Viceroy every five or six years to rule, autocratically in the last resort, an empire of the magnitude and variety of Europe, is largely responsible. If the Mutiny had come at the close instead of at the beginning of Lord Canning's too brief term of office, how differently would he have met it. If, to go a step farther back, the repeated military minutes sent home by Lord Dalhousie, in the ripeness of his experience, had been attended to, there would have been no opportunity for all the anarchic elements, which our civilization keeps in check till Christianity can remove them, to have burst forth.

Not only were Christian men profoundly moved by what seemed to some to be the death-throes of an empire. Many an Anglo-Indian found in 1857 that life had a new meaning for them because Christ had a new power. As in a shipwreck, the upheaving of government, of society, of the unknown gulf of Asiatic passions, revealed most men and women to themselves. From many such a cry went up for a day of national prayer and humiliation. Daniel Wilson was still Metropolitan, and Archdeacon Pratt was at his side. In his letter of the 19th October, 1857, Dr. Duff wrote of the bishop as "a man on whom age has conferred the spiritual sagacity of a seer, in blessed union with the mellow piety of a ripened saint,—a man in whose character a noble lion-like fortitude in the advocacy of pure evangelical truth is now beautifully blended and harmonised with a lamb-like demeanour in the

whole of his personal conduct. From the very first he exerted his great influence with all classes in exciting them to a spirit of humiliation and prayer before God. He held two public services on week-days in his own cathedral, on both which occasions he proached, though now in his eightieth year, two vigorous and appropriate sermons, which have since been published. He invited to social prayer and supplication, in his own house, the ministers of all churches and denominations—himself presiding, patriarch-like, and asking others to share with him in the devotional exercises. He made repeated private personal applications to the Governor-General, entreating him to appoint a special day for humiliation and prayer before God, but, with sorrow I have to add, altogether in vain. At last a public meeting of Christian inhabitants was held, and a memorial on the subject, addressed to Lord Canning, agreed to and numerously and respectably signed. The response to this memorial was the issue of a proclamation by the Governor-General in Council, which sadly disappointed all God-fearing people, and added another to the many recent acts of our higher authorities which have tended, unhappily, to lower them in the estimation of the general Christian community of this place. The appointment of a week-day was declined, though the same papers which published this proclamation announced the closing of all Government offices for about ten days in honour of the most celebrated of our idolatrous festivals,—the Doorga Pooja. But this was not the worst feature of it. As if afraid or ashamed to allude to the existence of the only true religion,—that on whose origination, and maintenance, and outspreading, the energies of the Godhead are embarked,—no reference whatever was made in it to Christ, or Christianity, or Christians."

The Free Church Presbytery fixed Sunday, the 25th October, as the day for a special service, which they appointed Dr. Duff to conduct. Members of the Government were present in the crowd of worshippers. With the intensity of his whole nature strung to an even higher pitch than usual, Dr. Duff seems to have come forth as a rapt prophet. The Government which would not disarm the Dinapore brigade had gagged even the loyal English press, but speech was free. The *Friend of India* had been "warned," because its temporary editor had dared, in an article published on the Centenary of Plassey, to express the hope that when the next centenary came round the princes of India might be Christian. On his return the responsible editor, Mr. Meredith Townsend, spoke, also in the Free Church of Calcutta, what the Press Act might have prevented him from publishing. But although the newspapers wrote thus, when lamenting the absence of a report of Dr. Duff's sermon, we may be sure that he lifted up his subject from the platform of politics and even history to the lofty level of seer and of psalmist. This was the *Hurkāru's* comment :

" Those who heard it, will not easily forget Dr. Duff's eloquent discourse on Sunday morning, Oct. 25th. If we have refrained up to the present moment from commenting upon it, it was because we indulged the hope that, like the sermons on the present crisis preached by the Bishop and Mr. Pratt, this too might be published. We should be sorry indeed if such an able analysis, such a searching and scathing exposé of our position, and of the causes which have mainly led to it, should be kept back from the light. It is true that the times are not favourable to such publications, more especially to that class in which the affairs of the Government are touched upon ; but we should be sorry to think that an exposition of gospel truth the application of the Bible to the present state of affairs, could be brought, within the meaning of Act XV. In expressing, then, an earnest desire that the sermon may yet be published,

we record, we feel assured, the sentiments of all who heard it preached. It was impossible not to observe the audience, their attention firmly riveted on the eloquent preacher as he poured forth in fervid and impassioned sentences all the fire of his soul: it was impossible to behold him, the impersonification of intellect, excited and animated beyond its ordinary phase, without recalling the days of the Reformation and the Covenanters. As Dr. Duff appeared on Sunday last, such was John Knox, dealing out his iron-fisted blows: such were those old Fathers of the Scottish faith who bound themselves by solemn covenant to resist the encroachments of popish and prelatic domination. It was impossible for any one read in history to resist the apt association. We say nothing of the words of the preacher, full of the force of truth, of the grandest eloquence; we say nothing of his doctrines, clear and convincing as they appeared to us: our eyes were on the man himself, on that fragile body not only supported, but borne on to such unusual exertion, by the power of the light within. Seldom have we seen so great a victory of mind over matter. It was to us a grand intellectual display, exerted for the noblest ends, with a success which could not have been surpassed. May we not hope, then, that those burning sentences and those impassioned arguments will yet be recorded?"

The congregation contributed some two thousand rupees to the Patriotic Fund which the whole British Empire raised for the surviving families of the massacred and the wounded. It is desirable that the accounts of that Fund, as it still exists, should be submitted to the nation.* Other practical forms of benevolence which the crisis called forth from Dr. Duff, were a statement on the relation of Government to caste, adopted by the Calcutta Missionary Conference; counsel and assistance to the American Episcopal Methodist Mission, which, recently established at

* Every year sees a diminution in the number of annuitants and pensioners on the Fund. In 1871 there were 569, in 1874 they were 355. The call on the capital is becoming so reduced that the time has come to provide publicly for its application. *

Bareilly, he urged to take possession of Oudh; and aid to such other new missions, like the Christian Vernacular Education Society, as the quickened conscience of England and Scotland called into existence. While he preached and published in Calcutta, statesmen like Sir John Lawrence, Sir Donald M'Leod, Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir Herbert Edwardes were submitting to Lord Canning the most masterly state papers* on the same subject of what they called "the elimination of all unchristian principle from the Government of India."

For months had mutiny and massacre swept over Hindostan, the land between the Vindhya and the Himalayas: how did the fiery trial affect the Church of India? For by 1857 there was a Native Church, pastors and flocks, in the great cities and scattered among the villages, not unlike that which, in very different circumstances, Diocletian thought to wipe out of the Roman Empire. Few, save the missionaries who had been blessed to bring it to the birth, and officials of the Lawrence stamp who fostered its growth, knew of what stuff its members were made. Few believed that the converts, despised by a world which knew them not because so little familiar with their Master, would pass through the fiery trial to the confessor's crown and the martyr's palm. The Mutiny did not seek Christians particularly, any more than it had been specially excited by Christian progress. In Madras, where the Native Church was oldest and strongest, and in Bombay, where the five causes of insurrection alleged by the antichristian party of politicians had

* See (a) Sir John Lawrence's Mutiny Despatch, of 1858; (b) the most famous of all his minutes, that of 21st April, 1858, with the papers of Sir Donald M'Leod and Herbert Edwardes; and (c) Sir R. Montgomery's Order on the appointment of Native Christians to public offices.

been most active, there was no mutiny. Native Christians were simply identified by the rebels with the governing class, but were generally offered their lives at the price of denying their Lord. Missionaries and converts were sacrificed or hunted, because they were in exposed places or had the courage to remain at the post of duty, but the number who perished was not out of proportion to other classes of victims. Of the fifteen hundred white Christians believed to have been butchered by the sepoys and their rabble agents, 240 were military officers out of the 4,000 in the Bengal army, and 37 were missionaries, chaplains and their families, out of a body of 300, probably, over the same area.

When Dr. Duff founded his system in Calcutta, in 1830, there were not more than 27,000 native Christians, Protestants, in the whole peninsula and the adjoining lands of Ceylon and Burma. This was the result of a century's evangelizing on the old method in South India.* By 1840, this number had risen to only 57,000; but by 1850 a census shows that it had become 127,000. When the anarchy of Islam and Brahmanism was let loose in 1857, there cannot have been more than 150,000. Then was realized the old experience of the Apostolic and Reformed Churches, the truth of the saying of Tertullian, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. Since the Mutiny and because of the Mutiny, the Church of India, now indigenous and self-developing as well as fostered by foreign overseers, has become half a million strong. The last census showed 318,363 Protestant natives at the end of 1871, and an increase annually of 6½ per cent by births and accretions. The next will be taken at the end of 1881. This is exclusive

* According to the late Rev. Dr. Mullens and Rev. M. A. Sherring, LL.B., the able and cautious statist of India Missions.

of an alleged three-quarters of a million of Roman Catholic natives, as returned by their priests on a confessedly loose system.

How, then, did the Native Church of 1857, some 150,000 strong, pass through the year of blood and persecution? Mr. Sherring compiled an authentic narrative of the facts, which, as published in 1859, was admitted by friend and foe to be within the truth. This is the first martyr roll of the Church of India.

MISSIONARIES AND CHAPLAINS.

Rev. M. J. Jennings, Chaplain of Delhi, and Miss Jennings. Both killed in their own house on the gate of the palace.

Rev. A. R. Hubbard, of the Propagation of the Gospel Society, Delhi. Killed by the mutineers in the Delhi Bank.

Rev. John Mackay, of the Baptist Missionary Society, Delhi. Defended himself with several friends in Col. Skinner's house for three or four days, when the roof of the cellar in which they had taken shelter was dug up by order of the king, and they were all killed.

Mr. David Corrie Sandys, of the Propagation Society, Delhi, and son of the Rev. T. Sandys, of the Church Society, Calcutta. Killed by the mutineers near the magazine, in attempting to return from the Mission-school to his own house.

Mr. Cocks and Mr. Louis Koch, both of the Propagation Society. Killed by the mutineers in the Delhi Bank.

Mrs. Thompson, widow of the Rev. J. T. Thompson, formerly Baptist Missionary in Delhi, and her two adult daughters. All three killed in their own house in Delhi.

Rev. Thomas Hunter, Missionary of the Church of Scotland, Sialkot, Mrs. Hunter, and their infant child. Killed in their

NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

Wilayat Ali, Catechist of the Baptist Mission, Delhi. Killed by a party of Muhammadans in the streets of Delhi, at the time of the outbreak.

Thakoor, Catechist of the Propagation Society's Mission, Delhi. Killed by troopers in the streets of Delhi.

Dhokul Parshad, head-teacher of the Futtehghur Mission-schools, his wife, and four children. All killed in company with the Europeans on the parade at Futtehghur. The sepoys first fired grape on the party, and then despatched the survivors with their swords.

Paramanand, Catechist of the Baptist Mission, Muttra. Killed by the rebels.

buggy, while fleeing to the fort. A ball passing through the face of Mr. Hunter, entered the neck of his wife; a gaol warder completed the murder with a sword, killing the child also.

Rev. John McCallum, Officiating Chaplain of Shahjehanpore. Rushing from the church, where the residents had assembled for Divine worship, on its being surrounded by the mutinous sepoys, he escaped with the loss of one of his hands; but in the evening of the same day, he was attacked by labourers in a field, and was finally decapitated by a Pathan.

Rev. J. E. Freeman and Mrs. Freeman; Rev. D. E. Campbell, Mrs. Campbell, and their two children; Rev. A. O. Johnson, and Mrs. Johnson; Rev. R. McMullen and Mrs. McMullen, of the American Presbyterian Board of Missions, Futtehghur. All killed by the Nana at Bithoor.

Rev. F. Fisher, Chaplain of Futtehghur, Mrs. Fisher and their infant child. Escaping from Futtehghur in boats, they were attacked by sepoys, and on jumping into the river, Mr. Fisher swam with his wife and child towards the bank, but they were both drowned in his arms on the way. Mr. Fisher was afterwards captured by the Nana's party, and slain at or near Cawnpore.

Rev. E. T. R. Moncrieff, Chaplain of Cawnpore, Mrs. Moncrieff, and their child. Mr. Moncrieff was killed in the intrenchments on the ninth day of the siege.

Rev. W. H. Haycock, of the Propagation Society, Cawnpore, and Mrs. Haycock, his mother. Both killed at Cawnpore. Mr. Haycock was shot just as he was entering the intrenchments.

Rev. H. E. Cockey, of the Propagation Society, Cawnpore. Wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball, and afterwards shot on the parade-ground at Cawn-

Solomon, Catechist of the Propagation Society's Mission, Cawnpore. Cruelly put to death by the Hindoos during the occupation of Cawnpore by the Gwalior Contingent.

Ram Chandra Mitter, Head-master of the American Presbyterian Mission-school, Futtehpore. Supposed to have been murdered at or near Futtehpore.

Jiwan Masih, Catechist. Supposed to have been killed near Delhamow.

Sri Nath Bhose, formerly Catechist and Teacher, his wife and children. All supposed to have been murdered in Oudh.

Raphael, Catechist of the Church Mission, Goruckpore. Died from wounds inflicted by the rebels, and from anxiety and sickness, during the troubles in Goruckpore.

There is a name left, which should live in the memories of God's people. Chaman Lal, Sub-Assistant-Surgeon of Delhi; was massacred by the mutineers in his own house in Delhi. He was a man of exemplary piety, and was thoroughly in earnest in his

- pore, together with other Europeans, in the presence of the Nana.
- Rev. G. W. Coopland, Chaplain of Gwalior. Killed on occasion of the mutiny of the Gwalior Contingent.
- Rev. H. J. Polehampton, Chaplain of Lucknow. Shot by a musket-ball, while attending on the sick in one of the hospitals in the Residency; but partially recovering from his wound, eventually sank from an attack of cholera.
- Rev. W. Glen, Agra, son of the late Dr. Glen, of Persia, and formerly Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Mirzapore, and his infant child. Both died in the fort of Agra from privations.
- Mrs. Buyers, wife of the Rev. W. Buyers, Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Benares. Died from dysentery, brought on chiefly by anxiety of mind induced by the disturbances in Benares.

Christian life and profession
The Native Church has lost in
him one of its brightest ornaments.

To these must be added the names, as confessors, of others such as the Rev. Gopeenath Nundi, his wife and children, at Allahabad.

The names in these two lists of very special interest to Dr. Duff were those of Mr. and Mrs. Hunter, of the Established Church of Scotland; and of his own third convert, Gopeenath Nundi. The former, apart from their worth and their work in founding a Mission which he had urged on the Church at the Disruption, had been inspired by Dr. Duff when at Aberdeen, and the Rev. R. Hunter, of the Free Church Mission at Nagpore, was their elder brother. Ram Chandra Mitter, who perished at Futtahpore, was described by Gopeenath as "a zealous Christian, educated in the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta." Fortunately we have the personal narrative of Gopeenath, confirmed by that of the late Dr. Owen, and forming not the least pathetic and instructive of the Indian *Acta Martyrum Sincera*.

Soon after his baptism at the end of 1832, which

was preceded by imprisonment and persecution on the part of his caste-fellows, Gopeenath Nundi was sent by Dr. Duff to open a mission school established by the surgeon and other British residents in Futtehpore. After founding and working that under the Church Missionary Society, he was ordained by the American Presbyterians to open a mission in Futtehghur. Having for sixteen years built up the native church there, he returned in 1853 to take charge of the Presbyterian mission in his old station of Futtehpore. There he preached to Europeans and natives alike, in the absence of a chaplain, and there he was assisted by Mr. Robert Tucker, the judge of the county. In no part of India, where all Christians are catholic, did those who named the name of Christ, of every sect and colour, meet and work together with greater harmony and zeal, and the Bengalee convert of Dr. Duff was their minister. This roused the hate of the Muhammadan community, at whose head was the deputy, Hikmut Oollah Khan. He found his opportunity when the news reached the town that, on the 7th June, the sepoys had risen in Allahabad, seventy-eight miles nearer Calcutta, and had massacred their officers, wounding the few who, like Ensign Cheke, managed to escape. The Christian residents of Futtahpore were driven to flight, by the rise of the rabble and the burning of their houses. Tucker alone would not move. He believed in the police, of whom he said, "I am going to put myself at the head of my brave legionaries" and he sent for Hikmut Oollah Khan to concert measures for the preservation of the Government property. "Tell the Saheb," was the response, "to make himself happy, and when I come in the evening I will give him eternal rest." The godly judge, the brave official, had his eyes opened, but he would not leave the post of duty. Having read the

comfortable words of Scripture and commended himself to God, he brought out all the arms he had and prepared to defend his life. Sunset saw the "brave legionaries" under Hikmut Oollah Khan, with the green flag of Islam, enter his park. Summoned to abjure Christ and accept Muhammad, he resolutely refused. As the police guard advanced he shot fourteen or sixteen of them—the accounts vary—before he fell confessing Christ. Robert Tucker is the glory of the Bengal civil service, and he was not alone in his heroism or in his confession.

By the magistrate's orders the Rev. Gopeenath Nundi had left for Allahabad, a few days earlier, in charge of all the Christian women of the station, only to find that they had run into greater danger. The women returned to their husbands, while he, his wife and children set off to the missionary station of Mirzapore. After the first day's march of fourteen miles in the heat of June, they found shelter in the village of a Brahman, who sought only to kill them for what they possessed. The scenes of horror witnessed there—for the armed villagers butchered all travellers whom they could not easily rob—may be imagined from this instance. A Hindoo leather-worker, of low caste, returning from Cawnpore, saw his wife stripped of every rag and their infant swung by the feet till its brains were dashed out upon a stone, while he himself was driven off naked. Determined to return to Allahabad, Gopeenath gave up all he possessed; "they did not leave us the single Bible we had; our shoes also were taken." While the Brahmans quarrelled over the booty the Christian family fled.

"We went up to a well, and the people gave us water to drink. We then came to a potter's house, and begged him to give us a **ghurra** (pot), which he did. I filled it with water,

that we might have a supply; for water in that part of the country, especially in the months of May and June, is very scarce and only found in deep wells. We travelled till nine a.m., when both ourselves and our dear children (two of them six years and the baby one year old) felt fatigued and tired, and sat down under the shade of a tree. The poor children cried most bitterly from hunger, but we had nothing to give them. We laid our petition before that God who fed His people, the Jews, with manna in the wilderness; and indeed He heard our prayer. We saw from a distance a marriage procession coming towards us; I went up to them, and they gave us five pice, which enabled me to buy suttoo (flour of grain) and goor (coarse sugar). With this we fed the children, and resumed our journey. We travelled till eleven a.m., when we found that our three children, having been struck by the sun, were on the point of death; for the sun was very powerful, and the hot wind blew most fearfully. Seeing no village near (and indeed, if there had been any, we should not have gone to it, for fear of losing our lives), we took shelter under a bridge, and having gathered some sand, made our poor children lie down. But they seemed dying, and we had no medicine to give them. We raised our hearts in prayer to our great Physician, who is always more ready to hear than we are to apply to Him. He heard our supplications. We saw a small green mango hanging on a tree, though the season was nearly over. I brought it down, and having procured a little fire from a gang of robbers who were proceeding to Allahabad to plunder, I roasted it and made some sherbet, and gave it to the children to drink. People of the poorer classes, when struck by the sun, always administer this as a medicine. It acted like a charm, and revived the children. From inability to proceed any farther, we made up our minds to remain there till next morning; but towards sunset the zemindar of the nearest village, a Hindoo by caste, came with the assurance that no injury should be done us, took us to his house, and comfortably kept us through the night, supplying all our urgent wants. We partook of his hospitality, and slept very soundly, as we had been deprived of rest for three days and three nights.

"Early on the following morning we left our kind host's house, and started for Allahabad, which was only three miles

off. We arrived at the ghaut about nine a.m.; and, while crossing the river Jumna, we saw, with heartfelt sorrow, that the mission bungalow was burnt to ashes, and the beautiful church totally disfigured. On our arrival swarms of Muhammadans fell upon us; but our gracious Father again saved us, by raising up a friend from amongst the foes. This was a goldsmith, a Hindoo by caste, who took us into his house, and kept us safe through the day. At sunset, when we left his protection, we fell into the hands of some other Muhammadans, who were roaming about like ferocious animals, thirsting after blood. When we saw there was no way to escape, and the villains ready to kill us, we begged them hard to take us to their head, the Moulvie, who for some days usurped the supreme authority there. With great difficulty we induced them to comply with our wishes. When we were brought before him, we found him seated on a chair, surrounded by men with drawn swords. We made our salaams; upon which he ordered us to sit down, and put to us the following questions: 'Who are you?' 'Christians.' 'What place do you come from?' 'Futtehpore.' 'What was your occupation?' 'Preaching and teaching the Christian religion.' 'Are you a padre?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Was it not you who used to go about reading and distributing tracts in the streets and villages?' 'Yes, sir; it was I and my catechists.' 'How many Christians have you made?' 'I did not make any Christians, for no human being can change the heart of another; but God, through my instrumentality, brought to the belief of His true religion about a couple of dozens.' On this the man exclaimed, in a great rage, and said, 'Tauba! tauba! (repent). What downright blasphemy! God never makes any one a Christian; but you Kaffirs pervert the people. He always makes people Mussulmans; for the religion which we follow is the only true one. How many Muhammadans have you perverted to your religion?' 'I have not perverted any one, but, by the grace of God, ten were turned from darkness to the glorious light of the gospel.' Hearing this, the man's countenance became as red as fire; and he exclaimed, 'You are a great "haramzadah" (traitor to your salt)! you have renounced your forefathers' faith, and become a child of Satan, and now use your every effort to bring others into the same road of destruction. You deserve a cruel death. Your nose, ears and

hands should be cut off at different times, so as to make your sufferings continue for some time; and your children ought to be taken into slavery.' Upon this, Mrs. Nundi, folding her hands, said to the Moulvie, ' You will confer a very great favour by ordering us all to be killed at once, and not to be tortured by a lingering death.' After keeping silent for a while, he exclaimed, ' Subhan Allah, you appear to be a respectable man. I pity you and your family; and, as a friend, I advise you to become Muhammadans: by doing so, you will not only save your lives, but will be raised to a high rank.' My answer was, ' We prefer death to any inducement you can hold out.' The man then appealed to my wife, and asked her what she would do? Her answer was, thank God, as firm as mine. She said, she was ready to submit to any punishment he could inflict, but she would not renounce her faith. The Moulvie then asked if I had read the Koran. My answer was, ' Yes, sir.' He then said, ' You could not have read it with a view to be profited, but simply to pick out passages in order to argue with Muhammadans.' Moreover he said, ' I will allow you three days to consider, and then I will send for you and read a portion of the Koran to you. If you believe, and become Muhammadans, well and good; but if not, your noses shall be cut off.' We again begged and said to him, that what he intended to do had better be done at once, for as long as God continued His grace we would never change our faith. He then ordered his men to take us into custody. While on the way to the prison, I raised my heart in praise and adoration to the Lord Jesus, for giving us grace to stand firm, and to acknowledge Him before the world. When we reached the place of our imprisonment, which was a part of the Serai, where travellers put up for the night, and where his soldiers were quartered, we found there a European family and some native Christians. We felt extremely sorry at seeing them in the same difficulty with ourselves. After conversing together, and relating each other's distress, I asked them to join us in prayer, to which they readily consented. While we knelt down and prayed, one of the guards came, and, giving me a kick on the back, ordered me either to pray after the Muhammadan form, or to hold my tongue.

"The next day, Ensign Cheke, an officer of the late 6th N. I., was brought in as a prisoner. He was so severely wounded,

that he was scarcely able to stand on his legs, but was on the point of fainting. I made some gruel of the suttoo and goor which we brought with us, and some of which was still left, and gave him to drink; also a pot full of water. Drinking this, he felt refreshed, and opened his eyes. Seeing me, a fellow-prisoner and minister of the gospel, he related the history of his sufferings, and asked me, if I escaped in safety, to write to his mother in England, and to his aunt at Bau-coorah; which I have since done. As the poor man was unable to lie down on the bare hard ground, for that was all that was allotted to us, I begged the darogah to give him a charpoy. With great difficulty he consented to supply one; and that was a broken one. Finding me so kindly disposed to poor Cheke, the darogah fastened my feet in the stocks, and thus caused a separation, not only from him, but also from my poor family. While this was going on, a large body of armed men fell upon me, holding forth the promise of immediate release if I became a Muhammadan. At that time Ensign Cheke cried with a loud voice, and said, 'Padre, padre, be firm; do not give way.' My poor wife, not willing to be separated, was dragged away by her hair, and received a severe wound in her forehead. The third day, the day appointed for our final execution, now came, and we expected every moment to be sent for to finish our earthly course; but the Moulvie did not do so. Every ten or fifteen minutes, some one of his people would come and try to convert us, threatening, in case of refusal, to cut off our noses. It appeared that the cutting off of noses was a favourite pastime with them.

"On the sixth day the Moulvie himself came over into the prison, and inquired where the padre prisoner was. When I was pointed out, he asked me if I was comfortable. My answer was, 'How can I be comfortable, whilst my feet are fastened in the stocks? however, I am not sorry, because such has been the will of my heavenly Father.' I then asked him, 'How he could be so cruel as not to allow a drop of milk to a poor innocent baby?' for our little one lived principally upon water those six days. The same day, the European and Sikh soldiers came out under Lieutenant Brasyer, and after a desperate fight, completely routed the enemy. Several dead and wounded were brought where we were, as that was his head-quarters. The sight of these convinced us that the

enemies would take to their heels. They gradually began to disperse, and by the following morning not one remained. We then broke the stocks, liberated ourselves, and came into the fort to our friends, who were rejoiced to see us once more in the land of the living. Ensign Cheke died the same day, after reaching the fort. His wounds were so severe and so numerous, that it was a wonder how he lived so many days, without any food or even a sufficient quantity of water to quench his burning thirst. It must be a great consolation to his friends to hear that he died in the fort and received Christian burial. I had not sufficient conversation with him to know the real state of his mind ; but the few words he expressed, at the time when the villains fastened my feet in the stocks, led me to believe that he died a Christian, and is now in the enjoyment of everlasting rest in heaven.

"Other dear English and native Christians were in similar dangers and trials, but many if not all were massacred ; yet we are still in the land of the living. The manifestation of God's grace to us at the time we needed it most, was infinite. It was nothing but His grace alone that kept us firm. The enemy tried his utmost to throw us down. He put forth, on the one hand, all the worldly inducements a person can conceive, if we renounced our faith ; on the other hand, he brought before us a sure death, with all the cruelties a barbarous man could think of, if we did not become Muhammadans. But, thank God, we chose the latter. The sweet words of our blessed Saviour, which are recorded in the 18th, 19th, and 20th verses of the 10th chapter of St. Matthew, were strikingly fulfilled in our case : 'And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for My sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak : for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' When the Moulvie failed by arguments, threats, etc., in bringing me to renounce my faith, he appealed to my wife ; but she too, thank God, was ready to give up her life rather than become a follower of the false prophet. When she saw the Moulvie was in a great rage, and was ready to order us to be tortured, by taking off our noses or ears, she began to instruct the twin boys—'You, my children, will be taken and kept as slaves,

while we shall be killed ; but reméber my last words, do not forget to say your prayers both morning and evening, and as soon as you see the English power re-established, which will be before long, fly over to them, and relate to them everything that has befallen us.' 'For He said, Surely they are My people, children that will not lie : so He was their Saviour. In all their affliction He was afflicted, and the angel of His presence saved them : in His love and in His pity He redeemed them' (Isa. lxiii. 8, 9)."

Gopeenath Nundi and his wife lived, after thus witnessing a good confession, to reorganize the Church of Futtahpore, but they soon after entered into the blessedness promised by the King : " Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven." Thus did Dr. Duff see his Mission at once tried and consecrated anew. The Church of India undoubtedly had a few cases corresponding to the *libellatici* of that of the Roman Empire. Did not Europeans and Eurasians also in some instances fail in the hour of fiery temptation ? Repeat the *Kalima*, or creed of Islam, was the ordinary test, but in the native Christian woman's case the threat of the loss of honour was added to that of death ; yet the apostates were generally the ignorant drummer-boys, the only Christians admitted by a short-sighted Government into the Bengal army, from which every baptized sepoy was expelled.

While the missionaries themselves were surprised by the steadfastness and the faith of converts whose physique was generally weak and their præ-Christian associations demoralizing, the Government, led by the great Punjabee heroes, began to see that Christianity meant active loyalty. Native Christians, among them Mr. S. C. Mookerjea, of Dr. Duff's College, manned the guns in Agra Fort. Within a fortnight of the receipt of the Meerut massacre the Krishnaghur Christians—weak Bengalees—vainly offered " to aid the Govern-

ment to the utmost of our power, both by bullock-gharries and men, or in any other way in which our services may be required, and that cheerfully without wages or remuneration." Those of Benares under Mr. Leupolt, formed a band which defended the mission till Neil arrived, and they joined the new military police till the Calcutta authorities forbade them. Not a few, even then, served as men and officers with the police levy which saved Mirzapore, and in Mr. Hodgson Pratt's corps which gave peace to Hooghly. The German missionaries in Chota Nagpore offered the blinded Government of Bengal a force of ten thousand Christian Kols; and the American Dr. Mason volunteered to send a battalion of Christian Karen from Burma. Even the Christians of South India pressed their services on the Madras Governor. But in every case the fear of an "invidious distinction" was assigned by the Bengal authorities, to the scorn of Dr. Duff, as a reason for refusing such aid. Yet there had always been Christians and even Jews in the Madras and Bombay armies, and there were not a few, Protestant and Romanist in the 17th M. N. I., which was fighting in Hindostan against the rebels. When it was too late, and all Behar was threatened, the Bengal Government eagerly sent to the missionaries, who had been by that time forced to flee for their lives, accepting the magnanimous offer.

Dr. Duff did not confine his sympathies and aid to native Christians only. He wrote thus on the 6th October, 1857 :

"To prevent all misconception with reference to missionaries, it ought to be emphatically noted, that nowhere has any special enmity or hostility been manifested towards them by the mutineers. Far from it. Such of them as fell in the way of the rebels were simply dealt with precisely in the same way as all

other Europeans were dealt with. They belonged to the governing class, and, as such, must be destroyed, to make way for the re-establishment of the old native Muhammadan dynasty. The same actuating motive led to the destruction of native Christians, and all others who were friendly, or supposed to be friendly, to the British Government. In this way it is known that many of the natives of Bengal, who, from their superior English education, were employed in Government offices in the North-West, and were believed to be favourable to the continuance of our rule, were made to suffer severely both in life and property. Some of them were sadly mutilated after the approved Muhammadan fashion, by having their noses slit up and ears cut off; while others, amid exposures and sufferings, had to effect the same hair-breadth escapes as the Europeans. In short, I feel more than ever persuaded of the reality of the conviction which I entertained from the very first, that this monster rebellion has been mainly of a political, and but very subordinately of a religious character; and that the grand proximate agency in exciting it was a treasonable Muhammadan influence brought skilfully to bear on a soil prepared for its action by many concurring antecedent causes of disaffection and discontent. Brahmanical and other influences had doubtless their share in it; but the preponderant central element has been of Muhammadan origin, directed to the realization of the long-cherished dynastic designs of Muhammadan ambition.

"By the natives generally no special animosity has been exhibited towards the missionaries or their doings. The very contrary is the fact. On this subject the editor of the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, a clergyman of the Church of England, has been enabled to bear emphatic testimony. 'If any European,' says he, 'is respected and trusted by the natives at

present, it is the missionary. All the influence of public officers and their agents at Benares could not succeed in procuring supplies for the troops and others from the country round; but a missionary well known to the people is now going round the villages and getting in supplies for the public service. The missionaries and their families are living, at that and some other stations, at some distance from the other residents and from the means of defence, and are surrounded by the people on every side. How remarkable is this state of things! The Government, who have always fondled and favoured superstition and idolatry, are accused of an underhand design to cheat the people into Christianity; and the missionaries, who have always openly and boldly, but still kindly and affectionately, denounced all idolatrous abominations, and invited their deluded votaries to embrace the gospel of Christ for their salvation—they are understood by the people; and, if any Europeans are trusted, the missionaries are at present."

One of Dr. Duff's inquirers of 1830-1834 was Dukshina Runjun Mookerjea, a Koolin Brahman who edited the Bengalee newspaper *Gyananeshun*, or "Inquirer," which was of such service to the good cause. He had not joined the Christian Church, but had always distinguished himself by promoting reforms among his countrymen, notably that of female education, in which he was the Honourable Drinkwater Bethune's friend. When the time came to reward actively loyal natives, Dr. Duff submitted his claims to Lord Canning. The result of his services in the Mutiny was that the Bengalee Baboo found himself a Raja, and Talookdar of Oudh, having a confiscated estate conferred on him. When in Lucknow he did much to found the Canning College, on the educational basis of the familiar General Assembly's Institution. There he enjoyed the fre-

quent counsels of Dr. Duff, as to his duties as the feudal lord of thousands of ignorant tenants. And there his earliest act was to create a model village bearing for ever the name of his honoured counsellor and benefactor, the Christian missionary, who thus acknowledged the beautifully oriental compliment: "A village reclaimed from the jungle of a rebel is a singularly happy type of the building of living souls, whom I would fain reclaim from the jungle of ignorance and error. And if through your generous impulse the village of Duffpore is destined to become a reality, how would my heart swell with gratitude to God of heaven, were I privileged to see with my own eyes its instructed, happy and prosperous occupants."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1858-1863.

LAST YEARS IN INDIA.

Some Fruits of Duff's Earlier Labours.—Administrative Progress.—Growth of the Bengal Mission.—Sindia, Dinkur Rao and Major S. C. Macpherson.—Native Female Education.—Dr. T. Smith, Rev. J. Fordyce, and Mrs. Mullens.—Zanana Instruction.—Duff's Caste Girls' Day School.—Death of Lacroix.—Missionary Methods and Christian Unity.—Deaths of Dr. Ewart and Gopeenath Nundi.—Revival Meetings and Ardent Longings.—Conference in Edinburgh on Free Church Missions.—Mr. Bhattacharjya and the Mahanad Rural Mission.—A Competition-Walla's Picture of Duff's Spiritual Work.—The Condition of the Peasantry of Bengal.—Fluctuating Tenure, Rising Land-Tax and Rack-Renting.—The Indigo Riots in Nuddea.—Dr. Duff's Letter to the Commission of Inquiry.—Rev. J. Long and the "Neel Durpun."—The Educational Destitution of Bengal.—Mr. Drinkwater Bethune and the Bethune Society.—The Missionary-President and his Work.—A Founder of the University of Calcutta.—Departure from the Principles of the Charter of Education since Duff's time.—Trevelyan's Proposal that he be Vice-Chancellor.—Repeated Illness ends in Dysentery again.—Voyage to China.—Shut up to accept the General Assembly's Invitation to become Foreign Missions Superintendent.—All Classes and Creeds unite to Honour the departing Missionary.—Reply to the Educated Hindoos and Muhammadans of Bengal.—Estimates of his Indian Career.—Sir Henry S. Maine and Bishop Cotton.

IN the eight years ending 1863, which formed the third and last of Dr. Duff's periods of personal service in India, he enjoyed a foretaste, at least, of that which is generally denied to the pioneers of philanthropy in its highest forms. "One soweth and another reapeth," is the law of the divine kingdom. The five years from 1830 to 1835 had been a time

emphatically of sowing the seeds of a new system, but that had borne early and yet ripe fruit in the first four converts. The eleven years which closed in 1850 had been a time of laying the foundation of a second organization and of consolidating the infant Church. But, thereafter, educated and representative converts, Hindoo and also Muhammadan, flowed into it. One year saw so many as twenty, while catechumens became catechists, these were licensed as preachers, and these ordained as missionaries, themselves privileged to attract and baptize converts from among all castes and classes of their countrymen. At one time Dr. Duff found himself alone in the Bengal Mission, with his earlier converts become his colleagues and only Mr. Fyfe at his side. At another he rejoiced in reinforcements of young missionaries from Scotland. All around he saw the indirect results of his whole work since 1830, in native opinion, British administration, and Anglo-Indian society, the progress of which, having reached an almost brilliant position under Lord Dalhousie, was not only not checked, but received a new impetus in the Mutiny under Lord Canning. He saw the beneficial results of the Charter of 1853, he delighted in the perhaps too radical and rapid changes introduced by the Crown in 1858. For no one then realized that every reform in India, and even every material improvement to be carried out by the Public Works Department means money at last, increased taxation of the poor, diminished power on the part of the people to withstand natural calamities, increasing debt and the risk of dangerous political discontent. Up to 1863, at least, not only was nothing of this apparent, in spite of the cost of trampling out the Mutiny, but the opposite seemed likely to be the case. For Lord Canning, led by Colonel Baird Smith's report on the famine of 1860-61, had given a political bottom to

financial reorganization, in his adoption of the principle of fixity in the land-tax and permanence of tenure, as sanctioned by the Crown under Lord Halifax and the Duke of Argyll subsequently, but rashly upset by their successors. And Mr. James Wilson, followed by Mr. S. Laing, had established the corresponding principle of direct taxation of the trading, manufacturing, capitalist, and official classes, at once as the complement of such fixity and the corrective of the unequal incidence of the public burdens on the land and its poor cultivators. This too was departed from, after 1863, by their *doctrinaire* successors, with consequences which every year shows to be more alarming and incurable save by a return to the Canning-Wilson policy.

Dr. Duff's Bengal Mission went on growing. It had never been so prosperous, spiritually and educationally, as in the Mutiny year. Then it entered on the new college buildings in Neemtolla Street, for which he had raised £15,000 in Scotland, England and the United States. The first visitor was Sindia, the Maharaja of Gwalior, descendant of the Maratha who fought Arthur Wellesley at Assye. At that time the chief was only twenty-seven years of age, but he had given promise of the same vigour of character as well as loyalty to the paramount power, which were to save him in the Mutiny and advance him to ever greater honour under almost every Viceroy to the present day. He was especially fortunate in the guidance, as political agent, of Major S. Charters Macpherson, and, as prime minister, of the Raja Dinkur Rao. The former was well-known to Dr. Duff, who had written at length, in the *Calcutta Review*, on his remarkable success in suppressing human sacrifices among the indigenous tribes of Orissa. The latter was afterwards selected by Lord Canning himself as the native

statesman most competent to sit in the imperial legislature in Calcutta, and his memorandum on the government of Asiatics is still of curious authority. The two "politicals," the Scottish son of the manse and the Maratha Brahman, had combined to make the Maharaja a sovereign wise for the good of the people and of himself. His Highness had come to Calcutta to be further influenced by the Governor-General. He inspected Dr. Duff's college and school, from the lowest to the highest class, as models to be reproduced in Gwalior.

"The number of boys—about twelve hundred—appeared greatly to surprise him; and he was still more surprised when informed that they all came to us voluntarily, and that, with very few exceptions, we did not know their parents or guardians. They came spontaneously, and received freely at our hands combined instruction in literature, science and the Christian religion. And when he realized the fact that ours was not a Government institution, but one supported wholly by private Christian benevolence, he seemed lost in wonder. One inference which his wise Dewan very adroitly drew was this,—that if private beneficence could erect such an edifice, and sustain its living educational machinery, it would never do for the Maharaja of Gwalior to aim at the ultimate realization of anything inferior in the capital of his dominions. That the impressions produced on the whole party were not transient merely, will appear from this note which reached me from Major Macpherson: 'The Dewan (prime minister) is exceedingly anxious to have an interview with you, to consult you about his measures of education. You cannot think how highly delighted His Highness's ministers, and all the rest are with your Institution. Nothing could exceed their admiration; and the Dewan thinks it the great work of

Calcutta. He would go to you at any hour and any place.' This morning the Dewan called at my house, and is to come again on Monday. The enlightened intelligence of this man is truly surprising. His measures of education for the Gwalior state will doubtless, according to our estimate, be defective in some vital points. But they will be instrumental in awakening multitudes, in a certain way, from the sleep and slumber of ages ; and, under a gracious Providence, may be overruled as preparing the way for more decidedly evangelizing measures hereafter. A visit like that now intimated seems also to prove how important it is to maintain an Institution such as ours, in the metropolis of India, in a state of efficiency, and of a scale of magnitude fitted to attract strangers to it. The sight of it in active operation has heretofore stimulated not a few to go away resolved to attempt something of the kind in their own neighbourhoods. To others it has suggested improvements in the routine of existing seminaries. And now it bids fair to exert an important influence on the education of myriads in Central India. It is a city set on a hill ; and any abatement in its efficiency would be regarded not merely as a loss to the many hundreds taught in it, but as, in some sort, a national calamity."

Thus was reproduced on a larger scale the experience of a quarter of a century before. Then Bengal zemindars, other missionaries, and the Government of India itself, had copied the model. Now it was studied by tributary sovereigns for reproduction in distant native states. But, up to this year, no Christian mission has been established in Gwalior, though the way has ever since been open. Under the less tolerant Maharaja Holkar, the other Maratha capital of Indore has for some time been evangelized ; while in Jeypore and other Rajpoot states the United Presbyterian Church

of Scotland has proclaimed the glad tidings ever since the Mutiny and massacres pricked the national conscience.

In the instruction and Christian education of Hindoo ladies this period witnessed a movement which is working a silent revolution in native society. We have seen the wisdom with which, for Calcutta and Bengal at least, Dr. Duff had determined to confine himself, at the outset of his career, to the education of boys and young men, not only for their own sake, but at once to create a demand for instruction in, and to obtain an entrance into, the jealously guarded zanana, or female apartments. Up to 1854 nothing had been done in this direction which had not failed as premature. Poor girls under the marriageable age of puberty at ten or eleven, had been attracted to day-schools. There aged pundits taught elementary Bengalee to a few dozen children, conducted to and from the place by old widows, and paid a farthing each for daily attendance. This was all that was possible in the condition of Hindoo society at that time; and the Christian ladies are to be honoured who toiled on amid such discouragements. Even 1850 was the day of small things in girls' as 1830 had been in boys' education in Bengal. But the fathers of 1850 had been the boys of 1830, and the time was ripe for advance. When still a youthful colleague of Dr. Duff, in 1840, Dr. Thomas Smith had published an article urging an attempt to send Christian ladies into the zananas. In 1854 the attempt succeeded. The Rev. John Fordyce, whom, with his wife, Dr. Duff had with true foresight sent out to the Bengalee orphanage, grasped the opportunity. Aided by Dr. T. Smith, he established the Zanana Mission, which the genius of Lacroix's daughter, Mrs. Mullens, so developed, and Government has so encouraged, that it has become the most effectual

means for educating the women of India. Mr. For-dyce secured the promise of two or three Hindoo gentlemen to open their houses to, and to pay for, the instructions of his ablest teacher, a European governess who knew Bengalee perfectly. All that was wanted was a modest carriage, a vernacular primer, and the Bengalee Bible. In the quarter of a century since that day, zanana instruction has become a part of the work of almost every mission station, and Government has appointed lady inspectors to test the results for grants-in-aid. Many a despised widow, yet never a wife, seeking peace at distant idol shrines has thus found Him Who is our Peace. Not a few wives have thus come to Christ with their husbands, or have brought their husbands with them. Even the aged head of the household, the grandmother or great-grandmother, next to the Brahman the stronghold of India's superstition, may be seen sitting at the feet of Jesus with the little children. The process is slow; but, as it co-operates with that begun in 1830, and propagates itself, fed ever more largely by the love and the truth of English and American ladies, it will change the family life and all society. Is it not thus that nations are born?

But zanana instruction is only half the machinery. It supplies a training as expensive and necessarily partial as education by governesses alone in English homes. As nothing can satisfactorily take the place of family influence on the whole character of the young, so there is no good substitute for the well-conducted school in their daily education. Mr. Drinkwater Bethune had prematurely built his school for high-caste girls, who were conveyed to and from the place in covered carriages, and were there carefully submitted to zanana precautions, those against Christianity included. Even under Christian ladies, and

when personally supported by Lord Dalhousie, the school has dragged on a sickly existence, because this sort of neutrality is fatal to life of any kind. By 1857 Dr. Duff saw that some of the families of his old and present students were ready to send their ladies to a day-school where Christianity should no more be the only form of truth "tabooed" than it was in the college. One Brahman, whose house adjoined the college, was found courageous enough to supply the rooms for the school. Mr. Fordyce's zanana governess, having successfully established that system, now took charge of this new experiment, along with a venerable but efficient pundit. Carriages were supplied for the girls at a distance, as the popularity of the school filled its benches, but fees were paid. Under the widow of one of the native missionaries, Dr. Duff's female school has gone on prospering. Five years ago we witnessed, in all India, no more suggestive sight than that school presented in its daily routine. Its founder's account of the first year's experiment was this :

" CALCUTTA, 17th May, 1858.

" MY DEAR DR. TWEEDIE,—It is now a twelvemonth since, amid endless uncertainties, I was led to commence the experiment of a native female day-school from among the better castes and classes of native society. Beginning with a mere handful, the number gradually increased in spite of much open and secret insidious opposition. Miss Toogood has been indefatigable in her exertions; and so has the learned pundit, who is one of the masters in our Institution. Other native gentlemen have, in many ways, quietly lent their aid and valuable encouragement. The girls have been remarkably steady in their attendance, through the varied good influences brought to bear upon them. The intelligence which many of them exhibit, as well as capacity for learning, must be regarded as remarkable. Their liveliness and docility make it a perfect pleasure to be engaged in instructing them. I have made a rule of visiting them almost regularly once a day on my way home from our

Institution, so that, in my own mind, I have a perfect map of the progress of the whole of them in their varied studies from the beginning.

"At the end of our first year it was thought desirable to hold a public examination, to which a select number of native gentlemen, as well as European gentlemen and ladies might be invited. When this intention became known, the youthful heirs of the late *millionnaire*, Ashutosh D \acute{e} —a name universally known in European and native society—sent to inform me that they and the female members of their family would be delighted if we held the intended examination in their house, one of the largest and most striking edifices in the native city. I thought this too good an offer to hesitate for a moment in accepting it. Other native gentlemen also testified their approbation, not in words only, but by more substantial signs. A Koolin Brahman, who had from the first sent his granddaughter to the school, came to me with seventy-two rupees, suggesting that, as a means of raising the moral tone of native female society, a few scholarships, varying from one to two rupees a month, might be awarded to the best of the senior pupils, and thus encourage the girls themselves, as well as their parents, to prolong their attendance; while the small sum thus bestowed would no longer be regarded as of an elemosynary description, and therefore degrading to the feelings, but as the properly earned reward of superior diligence, attention and merit. I thought the idea a good one, and resolved to appropriate the donation to a new experiment in this untried direction. With the same object in view another native gentleman from the North-West, who lately called on me, a nephew of the great government contractor Lalla Persad, sent me seventy-five rupees. Another native gentleman sent a nice clock for the benefit of the school, when it re-opened. The native ladies of the family of Ashutosh D \acute{e} sent two handsome silver medals. Several other native parties sent ten rupees and five rupees, for prizes or presents, expressive of approbation. All of this was indicative of an interest in the very quarter whence it was most desirable that interest should be awakened, so that I felt more than rewarded for all the trials and troubles of the past—thanked God and took courage.

"Here, at eleven, there were actually assembled of the native girls the following :—1st class, 7; 2nd class, 11; *3rd class,

15 ; 4th class, 12 ; 5th class, 17,—in all, 62 ; and this for many months past has been the average daily attendance. As the whole examination was in Bengalee, I need say no more than that all the native gentlemen present, who understood it, expressed themselves more than satisfied. Indeed, that within a twelvemonth, the elder girls who have been there all along, should have made such marked progress, can only be attributed to their own natural quickness, and the excellence of the tuition under Miss Toogood and the pundit. Their sewing is very neat ; with the elements of arithmetic, the general map of the world and of India, they are already familiar ; while many things connected with remarkable places are told to them orally. They read very distinctly, and write their own language with great accuracy in the formation of the letters and in spelling. For months past they have been reading Genesis with explanations by Miss Toogood, who orally conveys to them religious knowledge suited to their capacity. Whatever, therefore, may be the fate of the school in future, it has assuredly started more auspiciously than the most sanguine would have anticipated. The first remark to me to-day of the junior magistrate of Calcutta—the first native gentleman who ever attained to that high office, a very liberal and enlightened Hindoo—was, ‘ Well, when you came to India, such a spectacle as this was an impossibility.’ The saying is true. That it has become a possibility now, is surely a proof how true it is that some progress has been made.”

The year 1859–60 was a time of trial for the Mission staff. “ Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel ? ” were the words from which Dr. Duff, on the 24th July, 1859, preached a discourse on the life and the death of the great-hearted Swiss missionary Lacroix. The acquaintance begun on the first night of Duff’s arrival in Calcutta, the 27th May, 1830, had ripened into what the sermon described as “a close and endearing friendship, severed only by death.” The two men, both Presbyterians though of different churches and missionary methods, had much in common. Both were highlanders.

" Young Lacroix was unconsciously trained on the mountains of Switzerland to become one of the most effective of missionaries on the plains of Bengal. How did that iron frame, the product of mountain nurture, fit him to endure the fatigues and rough exposure of constant itineracies in this exhausting tropical atmosphere ! How did the endlessly varied and striking imagery with which his mind was so amply stored amid Alpine scenery, fit him for conveying Divine truth under the apposite and impressive forms of figure, trope, and graphic picturing, to the metaphor-loving people of these orient climes ! How did the enthusiastic love of civil and religious liberty, infused by the heart-thrilling tales of his country's double thralldom and double deliverance, fit him to sympathise with the millions of our practically enslaved rural population—groaning, as they have been for ages, and still are, under the ghostly domination of a Brahmanical priesthood, the galling exactions of lordly zemindars, and the unendurable tyrannies of the myrmidons of ill-administered law and justice."

To that passage Dr. Duff appended this note in the published sermon :

" As a native of the Scottish Grampians and a devoted admirer of the heroic struggles of Wallace and Bruce, Knox and Melville, in achieving the civil and religious liberties of Scotland, he felt himself possessed of a key to the interpretation of much in the character of his lamented friend that appeared singular or unintelligible to others. Indeed, in congenial themes such as those above alluded to, both were led to discover a mutual chord of sympathy that vibrated responsively in each other's breast, and served to knit them more closely together in the bonds of a sacred brotherhood."

In another note the apostle of the teaching thus wrote of the apostle of the purely preaching method

of Christian Missions: "Though he laboured far more and far longer than any other man in the direct preaching of the gospel to myriads in their own vernacular tongue, and though no foreigner, in this part of India, ever equalled him in his power of arresting and commanding the attention of a Bengalee-speaking audience, yet the success vouchsafed to his faithful, acceptable and untiring labours in the way of the conversion of souls to God, for which he intensely longed and prayed, was comparatively very small! But notwithstanding this comparative want of success, over which at times he mourned, he never once lost heart. On the contrary, with unabated cheerfulness and elasticity of spirit, he perseveringly continued to labour on to the very end, in the assured confidence that not one of the 'exceeding great and precious promises' would fail; and that, sooner or later, India, yea, and all the world, would be the Lord's. He constantly delighted in saying, that the Christian's business was to labour, and labour on—to plant and water, and water and plant, without wearying and without fainting—leaving all results to God! From love to Christ, and in obedience to His command, he intensely felt it was his duty to work, and work on, in faith, whether privileged to witness any success or not. The work of sowing was his; the blessing of 'increase' was God's. And thus, with the exception of two years' absence in Europe, did he labour on for thirty-eight years, seeing little fruit of his labours, and yet labouring to the very end as cheerfully and energetically as if he were reaping a glorious harvest. 'It will come, it will come, after I am dead and gone,' was his prevailing thought, 'for the good Lord hath said it; and it is not for me to scan His ways, or to know the times and the seasons which He hath appointed.' Thus, like the ancient patriarchs, did he

live, and labour, and die in faith, not having received the fulfilment of the promises, but assured that the fulfilment would come, when they that have sown in tears and they that reap in joy shall both exult over the product of their united labours, safely gathered into the garner of immortality."

In his daughter Mrs. Mullens, and his son-in-law Dr. Mullens, now a missionary martyr in Central Africa, Lacroix gave to the Church successors of his own spirit. Duff's funeral *éloge* is redolent of the spirit of David's over Jonathan.

Death did not stop there. In a few months, and in one afternoon, fell cholera carried off Dr. Ewart, emphatically "a pillar" of the Mission and Duff's student friend. And when, in March 1861, he was rejoicing over the induction of the Rev. Lal Behari Day, called by the Bengalee congregation to be their minister, there passed away to the confessor's reward the spirit of the Rev. Gopeenath Nundi at Futtehpore.

"Little did I dream when parting with him then, that it was the last time I was to gaze on that mild but earnest countenance! Little did I dream when we knelt down together, hand-in-hand, in my study, to commend each other to the Father of spirits, it was the last time we should meet till we hail each other before the throne on high, as redeemed by the blood of the Lamb! But so it has proved! I mourn over him as I would over an only son, till, at times, my eyes are sore with weeping. It is not the sorrow of repining at the dispensation of a gracious God and loving Father! Oh no; but the outburst and overflow of affectionate grief for one whom I loved as my own soul. But he has gone to his rest; ay, and to his glorious reward! His works do follow him. There are spiritual children in Northern India, not a few, to mourn over his loss. The American Presbyterian

Mission, which he so faithfully served, will sorely feel his loss. Oh, when shall we have scores and hundreds clothed with his mantle and imbued with his spirit? Will any of our young ministers, animated by like faith and hope, at once come out and fill up the gap—or, if they will not, will they at least pray that native men may be raised up here in greater numbers, both able and willing to mount the breach? Some day the Lord will take the work into His own hands, and then rebuke the laggard zeal of those who will not come forward now to His help against the mighty. ‘This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.’ What a volume of significance have we in these words! Long have all churches and societies laboured by all manner of imaginable plans, methods, and enginery to drive out the monster demon of Hindooism; and hitherto but with very partial success. Perhaps it may be to teach us all, that ‘this kind will not go out but by prayer and fasting,’ by real self-emptying, self-denial, and humiliation before God, accompanied by fervent, importunate, persevering prayer. Instead, therefore, of acting any longer as ingenious schemers of new plans, or as critics, judges, and fault-finders with old ones; were all of us, at home and abroad, to betake ourselves more to self-humiliation and prayer, perhaps even ‘this kind’ of demoniacal possession would soon be seen ‘going out’ from the souls of myriads, to the praise and glory of Jehovah’s omnipotent grace.”

Mr. Pourie had transferred his fine missionary spirit to the Free Church congregation, which he was to, soon to leave to find in Sydney a grave instead of the health he vainly sought. Dr. Mackay, long an invalid, was compelled at last to leave the work he loved, and died in Edinburgh. In time the Mission was reinforced by younger men. But all this added

to the burden laid on Dr. Duff, himself fast aging from thirty years' toil. Every rainy season laid him low, to recover only temporarily during the brief vacation of the cold weather. And there came upon him the questioning of a new generation of ministers in his own Church, as to the nature and the wisdom of the missionary method which Dr. Inglis had suggested in 1824, he himself had established in 1830 and worked with such immediate spiritual results ever since, Dr. Chalmers had approved and eulogized time after time, and the other evangelical churches had carefully followed after first ignorantly opposing it. Such questioning called forth the closing passage of his letter on Gopeenath's death, and those ardent longings, at a time when he had begun, with other evangelical Christians in Calcutta, a series of revival meetings such as had turned many to righteousness in America and Ireland just before.

" My own firm persuasion is, that whether we, the weary, toiling pioneers, ploughers, and sowers shall be privileged to reap or not, the reaping of a great harvest will yet be realized. Perhaps when the bones of those who are now sowing in tears shall be rotting in the dust, something like justice may be done to their principles and motives, their faith and perseverance, by those who shall then be reaping with joy, and gathering in the great world-harvest of redeemed souls. In the face of myriads daily perishing, and in the face of myriads instantaneously saved under the mighty outpourings of the Spirit of grace, I feel no disposition to enter into argument, discussion, or controversy with any one. Still my impulses and tendencies are to labour on amid sunshine and storm, to leave all to God, to pray without ceasing that the Spirit may be poured out on Scotland, England, India, and all lands, in the full assurance that such outpourings

would soon settle all controversies, put an end to all theorisings about modes and methods and other immaterial details, and give us all so much to do with alarmed, convicted, and converted souls, as to leave no head, no heart, no spirit, no life for anything else. Yes; I do devoutly declare that a great, widespread, universal revival would be the instantaneous and all-satisfying solution of all our difficulties, at home and abroad! Oh, then, for such a revival! How long, Lord, how long? When wilt Thou rend Thy heavens and come down? When will the stream descend? These, and such like, are our daily aspirations. We are like the hart, thirsting, panting, braying for the water-brooks. We feel intensely that it is not argument, or discussion, or controversy that will ever win or convert a single soul to God; that it is the Spirit's grace which alone can effectuate this; and it is in answer to believing, persevering, importunate prayer, that the Spirit usually descends with His awakening, convicting and converting influences. Our weapon, therefore, is more than ever the Word of God, and the arm that wields it, prayer. Surrounded as we are by the bristling fences and the frowning bulwarks of a three thousand years' old heathenism, we crave the sympathies and the prayers of our brethren in more highly favoured lands. Painfully familiar as we are with the 'hope deferred' which maketh the 'heart sick,' we often feel faint, very faint; yet, through God's grace, however faint, we have ever found ourselves still 'pursuing,' still holding on, with our face resolutely towards the enemy, whether confronting us in open battle, or merely evading the sharp edge of the sword of the Spirit by timely flight. Our motto has ever been, 'Onward! onward!' no matter what might be the Red Sea of difficulties ahead of us. But, oh, as men—men of like feelings and infirmities as others

—it would tend to cheer and hearten us did we find ourselves encompassed with the sympathies and the prayers of brethren at a distance. Not that God has ever left us without some witness or manifestation of His favour. We have had our own share of spiritual success; a goodly number of souls, from first to last, have been converted to God. For this we feel deeply grateful. But we long for thousands, yea, tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, and millions! Will the Church at home, if wearied of giving its moneys, assist us by a united, mighty host and army of prayers?"

His own Church held a conference of two days on the whole history and methods of its missions, in November, 1861. Their founders, Duff and Wilson, were absent, but the former sent home to Dr. Candlerish, who presided, sixty printed octavo pages of what he termed "rough notes." These were meant to do what in 1835 he had accomplished by the living voice. The discussion resulted in only good. It dispelled ignorance, quickened the zeal of the Church, and called forth volunteers for the mission field. And it greatly helped Dr. Duff in a new extension of his rural mission among the swarming peasantry of the county of Hooghly. From Mahanad as a centre, under the Rev. J. Bhattacharjya, he mapped out the district into circle schools where, with the assistance of the Vernacular Education Society afterwards, Bengalee preaching and teaching went hand in hand. There, ever since, that Brahman missionary has lived as the pastor of many native Christians, as the superintendent and inspector of schools, as the adviser of the local authorities in public questions affecting the peasantry so that Lord Northbrook selected him to give evidence on the subject before Parliament, as the referee of the magistrate in questions of taxation and education, and

as the guide, philosopher, and friend of his Hindoo neighbours.

We cannot better part from Dr. Duff's purely missionary work at this time than by looking at this picture of it, drawn by a competition-walla in all the frankness of a home letter. Dr. Duff had just returned from a long inspection of the remarkable results of the Lutheran Mission to the aboriginal Kols, on the uplands of Chota Nagpore.

" CALCUTTA, 16th Feb., 1862.

" Last Sunday was the communion in Mr. Pourie's church. I drove down with Aitchison (now Chief Commissioner of British Burma, then in the Foreign Office) and as we entered he was called into the vestry. What they wanted with him was soon apparent, for the Raja of Kuppurtulla, preceded by Dr. Duff, walked up the aisle in full oriental costume. That was a stirring sight, and has, as yet, had few parallels. He listened most attentively to the sermon. When I called yesterday he was full of it. The Raja had expressed himself much interested in the sermon, 'especially,' said he, 'in that part of it where the clergyman showed how it is that Christ's death is efficacious.' Kuppurtulla is a Sikh Raja of some consideration, who has his head-quarters at the town from which he takes his title, in Colonel Lake's commissionership. He is almost a Christian, and but for strong political reasons would probably come forward for baptism. From his estates in the Punjab and Oudh he has a revenue of £50,000. He has proved himself a firm friend of the American Missions. He entirely supports one missionary, and has written for another. In Kuppurtulla he has built a school, a church, and mission premises.

" On Wednesday night Dr. Duff, who has lately returned from a two months' tour in Chota Nagpore, gave an account of a visit to that province. . . . The Kols are by no means so rude and barbarous a race as they have often been represented to be. They are a mild and intelligent people, but addicted to demon-worship. The accounts we have been getting at home of the spread of religion among that people

have been enormously exaggerated. Dr. Duff inveighed against such misrepresentations, as calculated to dishearten people here and at home when the real state of the case is known. But he showed what a good work it was, deep-laid and progressive. He travelled over the district with the Commissioner (Colonel Dalton), who is a sincere friend to the cause. Very striking and affecting it was to hear him contrast the spread of Christianity there with what it has taken thirty years of labour to effect among the caste-bound races of Bengal, and then to listen to the triumphant anticipation of the fall of Brahmanism. . . I have seldom felt such a profound respect and admiration for a man as I did for that veteran missionary, as he spoke to me with the tear in his eye of the cause to which he has given his life, at what cost his attenuated and enfeebled frame too well shows.

"On the morning of Saturday Dr. Duff took us to his college. As he drove in at the gates of the handsome edifice the thousand scholars were fast gathering, and we were loudly saluted by cries of 'Good morning, sir.' . . The upper, or English division, is opened by a prayer from Dr. Duff. He stood in the verandah, or gallery, from which open off the various classrooms. He prayed, amid the deepest silence and apparent reverence, for the overthrow of idolatrous superstition and the spread of the knowledge of the true God in India. . . The highest classes, where the students averaged in ago at least twenty-one, were engaged in reading Abercrombie's 'Moral Powers,' and underwent an examination in the text and cognate matters that testified unmistakably to their aptitude for philosophical acquirements. Dr. Duff has an admirable way of speaking to the lads. In every class we entered he took up the subject in hand in an easy and familiar way. With great tact he took the opportunity of illustrating by it some great practical, scientific, or moral truth, in a style that delighted the students, even when it led them to laugh at the religious prejudices in which they had been brought up."

In these later years the successive presidents at the annual examination of the college were Sir Bartle Frere, when in Lord Canning's Council; Sir Henry Durand, and Lord Napier. Lady Elgin inspected the

classes, but Lord Lawrence was the first Governor-General, soon after that, to make a state visit such as his predecessors had confined to the secular Government colleges.

In the many questions of administration which the events of 1857-9 forced upon the Government and the country Dr. Duff took a keen interest. But, as a missionary, he was called upon to express his views publicly only when the good of the whole people was at stake. Two social and economic difficulties in Bengal demanded the interference of Lord Canning's later government—the rack-renting of the peasantry by their own zemindars, and the use of their feudal powers by English landlords or lessees to secure the profitable cultivation of the indigo plant. None knew the oppression of the uneducated millions so well as the missionaries in the interior, who lived among and for the people, spoke their language and sought their highest good. Again and again the united Missionary Conference had petitioned the Governor-General for inquiry, and the result was the Charter granted by Parliament in 1853. But nothing came of that, at first, for the people, and again the Conference asked for a commission of inquiry, with the result thus described by Dr. Duff: "All being then apparently smooth and calm on the surface to the distant official eye, the necessity for inquiry was almost contemptuously scouted." But, as soon as the crisis of the Mutiny would allow, Lord Canning's legislature passed the famous Act X. of 1859 to regulate the relations of landlord and tenant. Competition then invaded prescription, but the Act was as fair an attempt to preserve tenant-right while securing to the landlord the benefit of prices and improvements, as Mr. Gladstone's, which was influenced by it, was in Ireland long after. That was the first of a succession of measures, down to

the last year of Lord Lawrence's viceroyalty, passed to secure the old cultivators all over India in their beneficial right of occupancy and improvements, while regulating the conditions on which their rent could be enhanced. Unhappily, outside of the permanent tenure districts of Bengal and Oudh, our own thirty years leases and land-tax, often raised, tempted the landlord to squeeze his tenantry, and both frequently fell into the hands of the usurers and the underlings of our courts.

But in 1859 neither zemindar nor ryot, neither Bengalee nor English landlord, knew his rights. Early in 1860 the peasantry of the rich county of Nuddea began to refuse to cultivate indigo, and to mark their refusal by "riots, plunderings, and burnings." The system was bad, but it was old, it was of the East India Company's doing, and its evils were as novel to the Government of the day as the difficulty of devising a remedy was great. Sir J. P. Grant, the second Lieutenant-Governor, was able and well-inclined to the people; but at the other end of the official chain and in direct contact with the cultivators, there were young civilian bureaucrats who made impossible such kindly compromise and reforms as have since preserved a similar industry in Tirhoot. In the absence of anything like statesmanship anywhere, and amid the animosities of the vested interests, the whole of Bengal became divided into two parties, for and against the indigo-planters." The result was the destruction of an industry which was worth a million sterling annually to the country. Authorities who, like Dr. Duff and the *Friend of India*, dared to seek the good of the people while striving to preserve the industry, were scouted, were denounced in the daily press, and their very lives were threatened. An Act was hastily passed to enforce the peace and appointing a commission of inquiry on which the missionaries

and all classes were represented. To that Dr. Duff submitted a letter, which was published because of "the character and position of the writer," with the acknowledgment that it dealt "in a very broad and comprehensive spirit with the subject of popular education as the chief remedy for the evils disclosed." "With the bearings of the indigo system in a merely political or commercial point of view," he wrote, "I never felt it to be any concern of mine in any way to intermeddle. But to its bearings on the moral and social welfare of the people, to the task of whose elevation from the depths of a debasing ignorance my whole life has been consecrated, I have always felt it incumbent to give due heed. . . . In common with my missionary brethren of all churches and denominations, I repudiate with all my whole heart and soul anything like ill-will to indigo planters or hostility to indigo planting as such." The truth is, that the planters were the victims who suffered most from the Company's trade system and from the failure of the Queen's Government to give Bengal the legislative courts and police which it needed—till too late.

A personal case occurred to add new bitterness to the conflict which swept away the planters altogether. The Rev. James Long, a patriotic Irish agent of the Church Missionary Society, who worked for and sympathised with the people, made special researches into their vernacular literature, at the instance of Government. He caused a Bengalee play, termed *Neel Durpun*, or the Indigo Mirror, to be translated into English, and a valuable contribution to our knowledge of native opinion it was. But it libelled both planters and their wives, as a class. And the translation was officially circulated by the Bengal Office, which thus became a partisan. Still not one of these offences, whether in the original, the translation, or the circu-

lation, exceeded the extreme violence of the planters in the daily newspapers. In an evil moment the planters forfeited all the sympathy due to the sufferers by other men's misdeeds, by proceeding against Mr. Long for libel, not civilly, but by the unusual and persecuting course of criminal procedure, and that before the least judicial of the judges of the old Supreme Court. The missionary, whom at other times the planters rejoiced in, was sentenced, to the horror of the majority of them, to a fine of a hundred pounds—immediately paid by a Bengalee—and imprisonment for one month at the hottest season of the year. The jail authorities did their best to make him comfortable, and he held daily levees of the best men and women of Calcutta, including planters. Dr. Duff was doubtless one of the visitors; what he felt, for his friend and for the cause of righteousness, this letter shows:

"SATURDAY.

"MY DEAR MRS. LONG,—Accept my best thanks for the note from your beloved husband. It was very kind of him to remember me, and of you to send me the note so promptly. I am glad that he is out of Madras. His stay there could only have prolonged excitement; and what he needs above all things now is *rest, rest, rest*, to mind and body. He should go up to the hills at once, and all day wander over the breezy heights, communing with dumb but grand nature, in her most glorious manifestations,—or rather, with the great God whose handiwork is so glorious.

"This mail brings London papers. I am glad to see the *Daily News*, next in influence to *The Times* itself, take Mr. Long's part in the *Neel Durpun* case, and condemn the planters, jury and judge.—Yours very sincerely, ALEXANDER DUFF."

The catastrophe of the imprisonment sobered all parties, and Dr. Duff's fervid fearlessness only made the best of the planters his warm friends. But it required nearly ten years of public discussion, even till

Sir George Campbell became Lieutenant-Governor, to secure that primary education for which Lord William Bentinck had appointed Mr. W. Adam in 1835, and which Duff and others had never ceased to demand. A school cess, even in Bengal, now gives the dumb millions who pay it, a chance of knowing their right hand from their left.

When the Christian Vernacular Society for India was established,—an agency for giving the East trained Christian teachers and a pure literature, for which the first Lord Lawrence worked almost to the day of his death,—the Bengal Missionary Conference appointed Dr. Duff convener of a committee to facilitate its introduction into Eastern India. He drew up a remarkable paper on “The Educational Destitution of Bengal and Behar,” which the Conference published. Mr. Long, who, with Mr. Lacroix just before his death, acted with him in the committee, writes to us that Dr. Duff’s “sympathy with the masses grew with his increasing acquaintance with India, and with the development of the vernacular press. At the close of our last meeting, I recollect his saying, with great emphasis, ‘though our direct missionary methods are different,—one devoted to English education, another to vernacular schools, and the third to vernacular preaching,—there is not one essential point relating to the work of Christian vernacular instruction on which we differ.’” Dr. Duff subsequently spent three days with me at the Thakoorpookur mission of the Church of England, and no one could sympathise more strongly than he did in the plans I was working out for peasant education. We met every month at the Missionary Conference, the Tract and the Bible Society’s committees, in all of which he took a very active part. He never encouraged the practice of denationalising native Christians in dress, modes of life, or names. He did

not like to see native gentlemen attired in European costume, and, as a consequence of this expensive style, demanding, as in the case of some converts, equality of salary with Europeans, for he declared that instead of equality this would be giving them three times as much."

It was honourable to the Hindoo gentlemen of Calcutta—a community Dr. Duff had done more than any other man to create and to liberalise—that, in 1859, they united with the leaders of English society there in entreating him to fill the seat of president of the Bethune Society. That institute had been created seven years before, on the suggestion of Dr. Mouat, to form a common meeting place for the educated natives and their English friends, and to break down as far as possible the barriers set up by caste, not only between Hindoos and all the world beside, but between Hindoos and Hindoos. Such had been the social and intellectual progress since 1830, that the time had come to develop the debating societies of youths into a literary and scientific association of the type of those of the West. Mr. Bethune had just before passed away, his remains followed to the grave by the whole city. His name was given to the new society, which was intended to express the whole aims of his life. The son of the historian of the siege of Gibraltar, and one of the Congaltons of Balfour in Fifeshire, Drinkwater Bethune became the fourth wrangler of Airey's year at Cambridge, gave himself to literature and the law, joined Lord Brougham as a leading spirit in the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, made a reputation as a Parliamentary counsel, and on going to India as Macaulay's successor was appointed president of the Council of Education, and there founded the female school which still bears his name.

The new society started on a purely secular basis.

Afraid of truth on all its sides, and timidly jealous of that which had made the natives of the West all they were, it was about to die of inanition. Dr. Duff, who had watched its foundation with interest but was prohibited from helping it by its narrow basis, was urged to come to the rescue. He asked for a detailed explanation of the rule confining its discussions to any subject which may be included within the range of general literature and science only. Dr. Chevers, the vice-president, obtained from the members the unanimous declaration that this did not exclude natural theology, or respectful allusions, as circumstances might suggest, to the historic facts of Christianity, and to the lives and labours of those who had been its advocates. Then the missionary gladly became president and worked a magical change. The theatre of the Medical College, where the society met every month, proved for the next four years to be the centre of attraction to all educated Calcutta, of whatever creed or party. The orthodox Brahmins were there, taking part in the intellectual ferment, through leaders like the Raja Kalee Krishna. "Young Bengal" had higher ideals set before it, and found a new vent for its seething aspirations. Native Christians took their place in the intellectual arena beside the countrymen whom they desired to lead into the same light and peace which they themselves had found. Maharajas, like him of Benares from whose ancestor Warren Hastings had narrowly escaped, when they visited the metropolis to do homage to the Queen in the person of the Viceroy, returned to their own capitals to found similar societies. And, besides the powerful fascination of the new president's eloquence and courtesy, there was the attraction of lectures from every Englishman of note in or passing through the city.

To take only the first session, of 1859-60, Dr. Duff opened it with a lecture on the Rise and Progress

of Native Education. Professor E. B. Cowell, now of Cambridge, followed in a pregnant paper on the Principles of Historic Evidence, which are conspicuous by their absence all through the annals and literature of Asia outside of the Hebrew records. Colonel Baird Smith expounded the Philosophy of Irrigation, and then went to Madras to die; the loss of this great engineer-general, and son-in-law of De Quincey, calling forth from Dr. Duff a burst of feeling. Colonel Yule poured out the stores of his quaint learning on Java and the Javanese. Mr. Don, the latest colleague of the president, wrote on the Methods and Results of German Speculation; Dr. Mullens on the Invasions of the Roman Empire and of India; and Miss Mary Carpenter on Reformatory Schools. Archdeacon Pratt contributed a monograph on Sir Isaac Newton such as one of the first mathematical philosophers of that day alone could have written. But most valuable of all were the lectures, on Socrates, on Cambridge, and such subjects, of the head-master of Marlborough, whose name, as Bishop Cotton, will ever be associated with Heber's as the best and the greatest of Indian prelates. Alternating with such lecturers were the Bengalee scholars, Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Dr. Rajendralala Mittra, and not a few essayists, Muhamdan, Hindoo and Christian. But that the society might not beat the air with mere talk, its very practical president organized it in six sections, of education, literature and philosophy, science and art, sanitation, sociology, and native female improvement, under the late Henry Woodrow, Professor Cowell, Mr. H. S. Smith, Dr. Chevers, Mr. Long and Baboo Ramaprasad Roy respectively. These worked and reported results, duly published, with all the enthusiasm, and more than the method of the Social Science Congress and such bodies. Native society still looks back on the four, brilliant

years of Dr. Duff's presidency. Thus for rich and poor, educated and ignorant, Christian and non-Christian, he did not cease to sacrifice himself, and always in the character of the Christian missionary who, because he would sanctify all truth, feared none.

All this, however, was but the play of his evening hours. The absorbing business of his daily life for six years, next to but along with his spiritual duties, was to secure strictly catholic regulations for the University and the grant-in-aid systems which his evidence in 1853, following all his life-work, had called into existence. He had no sooner returned to India after that, than he was nominated by the Governor-General to be one of those who drew up the constitution of the University, and he was frequently consulted by the Bengal Government on the principles which should regulate grants to non-official colleges and schools. So long as he remained in Calcutta he secured fair play for the liberal and self-developing principles of the education despatch of 1854. When he and Dr. Wilson ceased to influence affairs and rulers, the public instruction of India began to fall back into the bureaucratic, anti-moral and politically dangerous system, from which Lord Halifax thought he had for ever rescued it. In all the Presidencies great state departments of secular educationists have been formed, which are permanent compared with the Governments they influence, and are powerful from their control of the press. Every year recently has seen the design of Parliament and the Crown, of both the Whig and the Conservative ministries, in 1854-60, farther and farther departed from, as it is expressed in this key-note of the great despatch : "We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grants-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of a superior order;

and we hope that, before long, sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes, independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed." The departure of the local governments from this healthy principle grieved Dr. Duff even in his dying hours, because of all its consequences in undiluted secularism, amounting, in the case of individual officials in Bengal and Bombay, to the propagation of atheism more subtle than that which he had overthrown in 1830; in political discontent and active attacks on the Government, of which more than one Viceroy has recently complained; and in the financial mistake which upholds departments too strong for control, while killing the only system that cares for the masses by making the wealthy pay for their own education. For the first six years of the history of the University of Calcutta, in all that secured its catholicity, and in such questions as pure text-books, and the establishment of the chairs of physical science contemplated by the despatch, Dr. Duff led the party in the senate, consisting of Bishop Cotton, Archdeacon Pratt, Dr. Kay, Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Cowell, Dr. Mullens, Dr. K. M. Banerjea, Sir H. Durand, Bishop Stuart, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, Mr. Samuel Laing, Sir C. Trevelyan and the present writer. Of his leadership, affecting the books and subjects daily studied by the thousands of youths under the jurisdiction of the University from Peshawur to Ceylon, Dr. Banerjea has thus written: "To his gigantic mind the successive Vice-Chancellors paid due deference, and he was the virtual governor of the University. The examining system still in force was mainly of his creation, and although it may be capable of improvement with the progress of society, yet those who complain of the large area of subjects involved in it

seem to forget that narrow-mindedness is not a less mischievous evil than shallowness of mind. Dr. Duff was again the first person who insisted on education in the physical sciences, and strongly urged the establishment of a professorship of physical science for the University. Although he first met with opposition in official quarters, yet his influence was such that it could not be shaken."

The Viceroy is, by his office, Chancellor of the University, and he appoints the Vice-Chancellor for a term of two years. Lord Elgin naturally turned to Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been sent out as his financial colleague in council. But although the honour had been well won, that official would not wear it so long as it had not been offered to one whom he thus declared worthier :

" CALCUTTA, 22nd March, 1863.

" MY DEAR DR. DUFF,—I have written to Sir R. Napier requesting that he will submit to the Governor-General my strong recommendation that you should be appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, and entirely disclaiming the honour on my part if there should have been any idea of appointing me. It is yours by right, because you have borne without rest or refreshment the burden and heat of the long day, which I hope is not yet near its close; and, what concerns us all more, if given to you it will be an unmistakable public acknowledgment of the paramount claims of national education, and will be a great encouragement to every effort that may be made for that object.—Very sincerely yours, CH. TREVELYAN."

Alas! by that time "the long day" was already overshadowed, so far as residence in India was concerned. The friend of his student days at St. Andrews, and of his later career, Dr. Tweedie, had been taken away. Dr. W. Hanna had taken up the duty of the home control of the Foreign Missions only long enough to show how well he would have exercised it

for both India, Africa and the Church, if he could have continued to bear the burden. Dr. Candlish had temporarily entered the breach. Again, as in 1847, the cry reached Dr. Duff, "Come home to save the missions." But neither Committee nor General Assembly moved him till another finger pointed the way. In the fatal month of July, 1863, his old enemy, dysentery, laid him low. To save his life, the physicians hurried him off on a sea voyage to China. He had dreamed that the coolness of such a Himalayan station as Darjeeling would complete the cure. But he was no longer the youth who had tried to fight disease in 1834, and had been beaten home in the struggle. He had worked like no other man, in East and West, for the third of a century. So, in letters to Dr. Candlish from Calcutta and the China Seas, he reviewed all the way by which he had been led to recognise the call of Providence, and he submitted. He returned, by Bombay and Madras, to Calcutta, and there he quietly set himself to prepare for his departure.

The varied communities of Bengal were roused, not to arrest the homeward movement, the pain of which to him, as well as the loss to India, they knew to be overborne by a divinely marked necessity, but to honour the venerable missionary as not even Governors had ever been honoured. At first, such was the instinctive conviction of the true catholicity of his mission, and the self-sacrifice of his whole career, that it was resolved to unite men of all creeds in one memorial of him. A committee, of which Bishop Cotton, Sir C. Trevelyan, and the leading natives and representatives of the other cities of India were members, resolved to reproduce, in the centre of the educational buildings of the metropolis, the Maison Carrée of Nismes. The marble hall, the duplicate of that exquisite gem of Greek architecture in an imperial province, was to be

used for and to symbolise the catholic pursuit of truth on a basis not less broad and divine than that which he had given to the Bethune Society. But, as there were native admirers of the man who thought this too Christian, so there were many of his own countrymen who desired to mark still more vividly his peculiar genius, as a missionary. The first result accordingly was the endowment in the University of Duff scholarships, to be held, one by a student of his own college, one by a student of the Eurasian institutions for which he had done so much, and two by the best students of all the affiliated arts colleges, now fifty-seven in number. The Bethune Society and the Doveton College procured oil portraits of their benefactor by the best artists. His own students, Christian and non-Christian, placed his marble bust in the hall where so many generations of youths had sat at his feet. And a few of the Scottish merchants of India, Singapore, and China offered him £11,000. The capital he destined for the invalidated missionaries of his own Church, and for these it is now administered by the surviving donors as trustees. On the interest of this sum he thenceforth lived, refusing all the emoluments of the offices he held. The only personal gift which he was constrained to accept was the house, 22, Lauder Road, Edinburgh, which the same friends insisted on purchasing for him.

The valedictory addresses which poured in upon him, and his replies, in the last days of 1863 would fill a volume. Almost every class and creed in Bengal was represented. The forty or fifty members of the united Missionary Conference, of which he had been a founder thirty-three years before, thus poured out their hearts, testifying in the name of all the Reformed Churches, British, American and European, to the value of that system of evangelizing Brahman and Muhammadan which, a generation before, their predecessors had op-

posed : "They cannot refrain from bearing their testimony to the distinguished service he has rendered to the cause of Christian education, by means of the Free Church Institution, during the entire period of his missionary life, and by his valuable counsels in the establishment of the University of Calcutta in recent years. Nor do they forget the powerful influence exerted upon the Christian Church during his visits home by his able advocacy of the claims of missions. In parting with their beloved friend and brother, the Conference desire to convey to him afresh the assurance of their warm affection and esteem. They glorify God in him, and while they regret that missionary work in India is deprived of his personal services, they wish him, in the new sphere opened to him at home, the continued enjoyment of the Master's favour, and the possession of divine peace, so long as life lasts." Private friends, like Durand, and high officials who knew only his public services, made it, by their letters and memorials, still more difficult to say farewell to a land which the true Anglo-Indian loves with a passionate longing for its people and their civilizers. Very pathetic was his farewell to his own students, those in Christ and those still halting between two opinions. But most characteristic of his whole work, his spiritual fidelity, and his cultured comprehensiveness, was the reply to the grateful outpourings of the Bethune Society, representing all educated non-Christian Bengal. The whole pamphlet, address and reply, marks the difference between 1830 and 1863, and in that difference the work he had done. Having passed the philanthropic and educative objects of the society in review, he reminded its members :

"Much as I have delighted in these objects, it is not solely, or even chiefly for the promotion of these, that I was originally induced to exchange my beloved native Grampians with their exhilarating breezes, for

the humid plains of Bengal with their red and copper sky and scorching atmosphere. Oh, no ! There is on record no instance, so far as I know, of mere literature, mere science, mere philosophy, having had the power to sever any of their votaries from the chosen abodes of cultured and refined society, and to send them forth, not for purposes of discovery or research, but on errands of pure philanthropy, unto strange and foreign lands. But what these have failed to do, Christianity has been actually doing in ten thousand instances during the last eighteen hundred years. And why ? Because, while it seeks to promote man's earthly good in every possible way and in the highest possible degree, its chief aim is of a vastly higher and more transcendent kind. It is this higher, nobler, diviner aim, which supplies the impelling motive to disinterested self-denial in seeking to promote the highest welfare of man. It is the grand end which Christianity professes to have in view, with the marvellous love which prompted it, that of saving, through the incarnation and death of the Son of God, immortal souls^{*} from sin, guilt and pollution, and of raising them up to the heights of celestial blessedness, which has been found potent enough to move numbers to submit to the heaviest sacrifices—to relinquish home and the society of friends, with all their endearing associations and fellowships—to go forth into the heart of the wilderness and even jeopard their lives in the high places of barbarism. And the strength of the motive thus derived is enhanced by the assurance that the sovereign antidote here provided, in His wisdom and beneficence, by God Himself, for the woes and maladies of fallen humanity, is fraught with peculiar power—‘the power of God’—the power of a divine energy accompanying the preaching of the gospel ; a power, therefore, fitted and designed by the

Almighty disposer of all influence, to operate on the mind of man, in all states and conditions of life, with a far more imperial sway than any other known agency. While this assurance, again, is mightily confirmed by actual historic evidence that there is *that*, in its wondrous tale of unspeakable tenderness and love, in the awful solemnity of its sanctions, in the vitalizing force of its motives, in the terribleness of its threatenings, in the alluring sweetness of its promises, and in the grandeur and magnificence of its proffered rewards, which has been found divinely adapted to pierce into the darkest heathen intellect, to arouse into action its long slumbering faculties, to melt into contrition the most obdurate savage heart and enchain its wild roving desires and restless impulses with a fascination more marvellous and more absolute far than aught that fables yet have feigned or hope conceived.

" Truly blessed, according to the records of history, are the people that know the joyful sound. Designed of heaven to reach and penetrate all ears, to move and affect all hearts, it has already gladdened the homes of multitudes among all kindreds and tribes and peoples and nations. Having an intelligible message of peace and goodwill for every man, in every place, at every time and under every varying circumstance, it has been wafted by heralds of salvation over every girdling zone of earth. Unrelaxed by temperate warmth, unscathed by torrid heat, unbenumbed by arctic cold, it can point to its trophies in every realm of civilization, in every barbarian clime, in every savage island. As a conqueror it has entered the palaces of mightiest monarchs and raised into more than earthly royalty the tenants of the humble wigwam. It has controlled the deliberations of sages and senates, it has stilled the uproar of tattooed warriors wielding the ruthless toma-

hawk. It has caused the yell and whoop of murderous onslaught to be exchanged for the soft cadences of prayer, and the mellow tones of praise and gladness. It has prevailed on the marauding hordes of the wilderness to cast off the habits and customs of a brutish ancestry, and to emulate the improved modes and manners of refined society. It has impelled them to fling aside the bones and the beads, the paint and the feathers, which only rendered nakedness more hideous, and to assume the garb and the vesture befitting the requirements of decency and moral worth. It has successfully invaded the halls of science, and humbled proud philosophy into the docility of childhood. It has wrought its way into the caverns of debasing ignorance, and illuminated them with the rays of celestial light. It has gone down into the dens of foulest infamy, and there reared altars of devotion in upright hearts and pure; it has mingled its voice with the ragings of the tempest, and hung a lamp of glories immortality over the sinking wreck. It has lighted on the gory battle-field, and poured the balm of consolation into the soul of the dying hero. It has converted the thievish honest, the lying truthful, the churl libelous. It has rendered the slothful industrious, the improvident forecasting, and the careless considerate. It has ensured amplest restitution for former lawless exactions, and thrownounteous handfuls into the treasury of future beneficence. It has converted extravagance into frugality, unfeeling apathy into generous well-doing, and the discord of frantic revelry into the harmonies of sacred song. It has changed cruelty into sympathy, hatred into love, malice into kindliness and goodwill. It has relieved the poor and the needy, comforted the widow, and blessed the fatherless. It has, on errands of mercy, visited the loathsome dungeon, braved the famine, and confronted the plague.

It has wrenched the iron rod from the grasp of oppression, and dashed the fiery cup from the lips of intemperance. It has strewn flowers over the grave of old enmities, and woven garlands round the columns of the temple of peace. And if, in spite of these and other mighty achievements, which have followed as a retinue of splendour in its train, its success may not have been so extensive and complete as the transcendency of its divinity might have led us to expect, Christians never allow themselves to forget that the ages which are past have only witnessed its birth-throes and infantile development in any land—that the time is fast approaching when it will display its giant form, and go forth in the greatness of its strength; when it will thresh the mountains of error and of sin, and scatter them like the dust before the whirlwind on the summer threshing-floor, and when, with every dark cloud vanished, it will arise and shine with the radiance of noon-day over an emancipated and renovated earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. . .

"A bright and glorious era for India and the world I have long seen in the vision of faith. The vivid reality of hope has often sustained me amid toils and sufferings, calamity and reproach, disappointment and reverse. . . . and the assured prospect of its ultimate realization has now to shoot some gleams of light athwart the darkness of my horizon; and, so far, to blunt the keen edge of grief and sadness, when about to bid a final adieu to these long-loved Indian shores. Some of you may live to witness not merely its blissful dawn but its meridian effulgence; to me that privilege will not be vouchsafed. My days are already in 'the sere and yellow leaf; ' the fresh flush of vernal budding has long since exhausted itself; the sap and vigour of summer's outbursting fulness have well-nigh gone, leaving me dry and brittle, like a

withered herb or flower at the close of autumn ; the hoar frost of old age—age prematurely old—grim wintry old age, is fast settling down upon me. But whether, under the ordination of the High and Holy One, Who inhabiteth eternity, my days be few or many ; whether my old age be one of decrepitude or of privileged usefulness, my best and latest thoughts will be still of India. Wherever I wander, wherever I roam ; wherever I labour, wherever I rest, my heart will be still in India. So long as I am in this tabernacle of clay I shall never cease, if permitted by a gracious Providence, to labour for the good of India ; my latest breath will be spent in imploring blessings on India and its people. And when at last this frail mortal body is consigned to the silent tomb, while I myself think that the only befitting epitaph for my tombstone would be—‘Here lies Alexander Duff, by nature and practice a sinful guilty creature, but saved by grace, through faith in the blood and righteousness of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ;’—were it, by others, thought desirable that any addition should be made to this sentence, I would reckon it my highest earthly honour, should I be deemed worthy of appropriating the grandly generous words, already suggested by the exuberant kindness of one of my oldest native friends, in some such form as follows : ‘By profession, a missionary ; by his life and labours, the true and constant friend of India.’ Pardon my weakness ; nature is overcome ; the gush of feeling is beyond control ; amid tears of sadness I must now bid you all a solemn farewell.”

Such was his last message ; and these were the words in which the two men in India best able to estimate his deeds impartially, spoke of him officially to natives and to Europeans.

Sir Henry Maine, who had succeeded to the position

of Vice-Chancellor of the University, which illness kept Dr. Duff from then filling, said of him in convocation : " It would be easy for me to enumerate the direct services which he rendered to us by aiding us with unflagging assiduity, in the regulation, supervision, and amendment of our course of study ; but in the presence of so many native students and native gentlemen who viewed him with the intensest regard and admiration, although they knew that his every-day wish and prayer was to overthrow their ancient faith, I should be ashamed to speak of him in any other character than the only one which he cared to fill—the character of a missionary. Regarding him then as a missionary, the qualities in him which most impressed me—and you will remember that I speak of nothing except what I myself observed—were first of all his absolute self-sacrifice and self-denial. Religions, so far as I know, have never been widely propagated, except by two classes of men—by conquerors or by ascetics. The British Government of India has voluntarily (and no doubt wisely) abnegated the power which its material force conferred on it, and, if the country be ever converted to the religion of the dominant race, it will be by influences of the other sort, by the influence of missionaries of the type of Dr. Duff. Next I was struck—and here we have the point of contact between Dr. Duff's religious and educational life—by his perfect faith in the harmony of truth. I am not aware that he ever desired the University to refuse instruction in any subject of knowledge because he considered it dangerous. Where men of feebler minds or weaker faith would have shrunk from encouraging the study of this or that classical language, because it enshrined the archives of some antique superstition, or would have refused to stimulate proficiency in this or that walk of physical

science, because its conclusions were supposed to lead to irreligious consequences, Dr. Duff, believing his own creed to be true, believed also that it had the great characteristic of truth—that characteristic which nothing else except truth possesses—that it can be reconciled with everything else which is also true. Gentlemen, if you only realize how rare this combination of qualities is—how seldom the energy which springs from religious conviction is found united with perfect fearlessness in encouraging the spread of knowledge, you will understand what we have lost through Dr. Duff's departure, and why I place it among the foremost events in the University year."

Dr. Cotton, the Bishop of Calcutta, in his metropolitan Charge, finely characterized Duff, and thus unconsciously answered the ignorant objections of a new generation to his system :

"I need hardly remind you that such a view of evangelistic work in India as I am now trying to sketch was especially carried out by that illustrious missionary whose loss India is now lamenting, and whose name, though it does not adorn the Fasti of our own Church, yet may well be honoured in all Churches, not only for his single-eyed devotion to his Master's cause, during a long and active service, but for the peculiar position he took up in India, at a most important crisis.

"It was the special glory of Alexander Duff that, arriving here in the midst of a great intellectual movement of a completely atheistical character, he at once resolved to make that character Christian. When the new generation of Bengalees and too many, alas! of their European friends and teachers were talking of Christianity as an obsolete superstition, soon to be burnt up in the pyre on which the creeds of the Brahman, the Bhuddist and the Muhammadan

were already perishing, Alexander Duff suddenly burst upon the scene, with his unhesitating faith, his indomitable energy, his varied erudition, and his never-failing stream of fervid eloquence, to teach them that the gospel was not dead or sleeping, not the ally of ignorance and error, not ashamed or unable to vindicate its claims to universal reverence; but that then, as always, the gospel of Christ was marching forward in the van of civilization, and that the Church of Christ was still 'the light of the world.' The effect of his fearless stand against the arrogance of infidelity has lasted to this day; and whether the number he has baptized is small or great (some there are among them whom we all know and honour), it is quite certain that the work which he did in India can never be undone, unless we, whom he leaves behind, are faithless to his example."

CHAPTER XXV.

1864-1867.

IN SOUTH-EAST AFRICA.—THE MISSIONARY PROPAGANDA.

Last Farewell to India.—In the *Holspur* with Captain Toynbee.—Reviewing the Past.—Spiritual Musings.—Death of a Missionary's Wife.—First View of the Kaffrarian Const.—Cape Town on the Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Shipwreck.—The First Missionary to the Hottentots.—Efforts of Ziegenbalg and Martyn for South Africa.—Dr. Duff's Wagon Tour from Genadenthal to Maritzburg.—With Bishop Gray during the Colenso Trial.—Preaching and Reorganizing at Lovedale and Burnhill, Pirie and King William's Town.—Dr. Livingstone.—Edinburgh, Porth and Aberdeen.—Lord Lawrence Visits the Calcutta Institution in State.—Duff's Plan of a Missionary Professorship, Institute, and Quarterly Review.—The Collegio di Propaganda Fide.—Raymond Lull and Waleus.—Cromwell's Protestant Council.—Duff's Experience at St. Andrews. The Professorship Endowed.—Correspondence with H. M. Matheson, Esq.—The Institute and the Quarterly Postponed.—The Science of Religion.

So Alexander Duff said farewell to India. He might have sought rest after the third of a century's toil. He was nearing, too, the sabbatic seventh of the three-score and ten years of the pilgrimage of man—a decade to which many great souls, like his own master and friend, Thomas Chalmers, had looked forward as a period of calm preparation for the everlasting sabbath-keeping. But Duff was again leaving India, and for the last time, only to enter on fourteen years of ceaseless labour, as well as prayer, for the cause to which he had given his life. It was well for him that some months of enforced rest were laid upon him. These were still the days of Cape voyages, about to be made

things of the past for the majority of travellers by the Suez Canal. In the spacious cabins and amid the quiet surroundings of the last and best of the old East Indiamen, the convalescent found health; while the invalids whom nothing could save in the tropics, and who too often now fall victims to the scorching of the Red Sea route, had another chance or a lengthened spell of calm before the bell sadly yet sweetly tolled for burial at sea. The wearied, wasted missionary, attended to the ghaut by sorrowing friends, went on board the *Hotspur*, on Saturday, the 20th December, 1863.

Not only in the ship, but in Captain Toynbee, who is known as one of the foremost of Christian sailors, was he peculiarly fortunate. That officer has supplied these reminiscences of the voyage as far as Cape Town: "Knowing how many were grieving at Dr. Duff's departure from India, it could not fail to strike us that the 'proper lesson' read in the morning service the next day was Acts xx., with the words, 'And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him; sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more;' and Dr. Duff then so weak that he could only sit quietly by and listen. By the time that we had been a week at sea, however, he said that, though he could take no share in the Sunday morning service, as it was held in the open air which would make speaking too fatiguing, he would like to say a few words after the evening prayer. He began, taking the Ten Commandments as his subject, in so low a tone that it was difficult to hear; but his enthusiasm seemed to overcome even the physical weakness, and his voice was full, and his language grand, as he preached for nearly an hour. All enjoyed and admired those sermons, which he continued in a series each Sunday evening until we reached

the Cape, none ever complaining of their length, though their effect on himself was seen in his fatigued look the next day. We had invalid soldiers on board. He soon found out the sick men and visited them, holding a short service on the lower deck every day. He also interested himself in a school amongst the soldiers' children, and in the illness and death of Mrs. Ellis, the wife of a missionary going home for her health. Though his health improved he continued very weak. Being a very poor sleeper, he used to look sadly worn some mornings after a rough night; but there was never anything approaching to complaining on his part, only a patient smile, and the remark, 'I heard *my friend*', as he called one of the sailors whose harsh voice had waked him more than once. The contrast between his patience and the impatience of others on board who were not so ill as he was, was noticed even by the servants. A young cavalry officer on board remarked to me, 'If all missionaries were like Dr. Duff, India would be a different place.'

"The morning he spent in his cabin, but in the evening he used to come on deck and sit enjoying the glories of sky and sea, for which he had intense appreciation. He conversed with so much interest and animation that those were times of rare enjoyment. Sometimes he told us of his varied travels; once of his shipwreck. I was struck by the accuracy of his memory, which could, after so many years, reproduce the whole scene so correctly as not in any point to jar on the fastidiousness of a nautical ear; and more than once by the deep feeling he entertained for the kindness shown to him when he was leaving India, and by his own sorrow that it was impossible for him, consistently with a right regard to health and power of usefulness, to remain in Calcutta so long as life should be granted to him. When he left the ship in Table Bay,

he was warmly cheered both by soldiers and sailors. Those who had been admitted to the high privilege of nearer acquaintance with him felt that the weeks he had spent on board had been truly 'a time of refreshing' both intellectually and spiritually."

In the brief ship journal which Dr. Duff kept, we have these traces of his musing and his working :—

Monday, 21st December, 1863.—"To-day, about noon, had the last glimpse of Saugar Island, i.e. in reality of India. I remember my first glimpse of it in May, 1830. How strangely different my feelings then and now! I was then entering, in total ignorance, on a new and untried enterprise; but strong in faith and buoyant with hope, I never wished, if the Lord willed, to leave India at all; but by a succession of providential dealings, I had to leave it twice before, and now for the third and last time. It has been the scene of my greatest trials and sufferings, as also, under God, of my greatest triumphs and joys. The changes—at least some of the more noticeable ones—were stated in my reply to the Missionary Conference. My feelings now are of a very mixed character. The sphere of labour now left had become at once familiar and delightful. If health be restored, my future is wrapped in clouds and thick darkness. I simply yield to what I cannot but believe to be the leadings of Providence, which seem to peal in my ears, 'Go forward!' and from the experience of the past my assured hope is, that if I do go forward, in humble dependence on my God, 'light will spring up in my darkness.' I began my labours in 1830 literally with nothing. I leave behind me the largest, and, in a Christian point of view, the most successful Christian Institution in India, a native Church, nearly self-sustaining, with a native pastor, three ordained native missionaries, besides—with catechists and native teachers—flourishing branch missions at Chinsurah, Bansbaria, Culna, Mahanad, etc. For all this, I desire to render thanks to the good and gracious God, Whose I am, and Whom I am bound to serve with soul, body and spirit, which are His.

"Some periods of my career were very stormy ones, especially the first and second. During the first I was in perpetual hostile collision with natives, who abused and insulted me

beyond measure in private and in the newspapers; and also with Europeans, such as the ultra-orientalists, relative to the basis of education and its lingual media; and the lawyers, such as Longueville Clarke, on the rights of conscience in inquirers under legal age. During the second period I was still in violent conflict with all classes of natives on a vast variety of subjects. At one time some of 'the lewd fellows of the baser sort,' beaten down in argument, and confounded in their attempts to confute Christianity and destroy the Christian cause, entered into a conspiracy against my life. Lateeals or clubmen were hired to waylay and beat me in the streets. A timely discovery and exposure of the whole prevented execution. With the Governor-General, Lord Aucklaud, I came into violent collision on the subject of education, and all the hosts of officials, secular journalists, and worldlings joined in one universal shout against me, of derision, scorn, contempt and indignation. Under all these oppositions I simply endeavoured to possess my soul in patience; and conscious of the rectitude of my motives, and having a conscience void of offence toward God and man, I prayed God, in due time and in His own way, to vindicate the right and enable me to love my enemies. The third period of my sojourn has been less stormy; and, praised be God! I now leave India in the happy assurance that in ways unspeakably gracious, and on my part undeserved, He has 'made even my enemies to be at peace with me.' Oh, what shall I render unto the Lord for all His goodness?

"At the close of 1833 I was for three weeks in a pilot brig at these Saudeheads, while recovering from a severe jungle fever, with my dearest and then only child, who also was suffering from ague. To the south of Kedjeree we saw the *Duke of York* East Indiaman of 1,500 tons high and dry in a rice field, having been carried there in the tremendous cyclone of the preceding May,—perhaps the severest on record. The embankments were everywhere broken down. The sea rolled inland for scores of miles. Myriads perished. In some parts, as we passed we saw poor emaciated mothers offering to us their skeleton-like children for a handful of rice. The whole of Saugar Island was seven or eight feet under water. Plantations, cleared at a great expense, were destroyed; and for years afterwards salt and not rice was the

products. They are only now tolerably recovered. In carrying on the training, European superintendents resided in bungalows, raised ten or twelve feet from the ground, to escape malaria, wild beasts, etc.

Monday, 28th.—“Yesterday, and especially to-day, had much enjoyment in my own soul. The first three chapters of the Epistle to the Romans appeared more wonderful than ever in their delineation of man's fearful apostasy from God, his utter helplessness and hopelessness, and the unspeakably glorious remedy in the unspotted righteousness of Christ. This illustrates to my own mind the true doctrine of Scripture development. It is not the revelation of any new truth, but the unfolding of truth already there, in new connections and new applications, showing in this new expansion of it (as it appears to the more highly illumined soul) a breadth and extent of significance not previously discerned.

Thursday, 31st.—“The last day of the year. What a year to me! In some respects the most memorable of my life; for in it, in a way unexpected, the Lord, by His overruling providence, has not only altered but reversed the cherished purpose of thirty-four years, which was to live and labour and die in India. Having already, in many forms, expressed my mind on this subject, I shall say no more now, but this: ‘Oh, may the Lord make it increasingly clear to me that I am really doing His will—really seeking, in sole obedience to His will, to promote His glory!’

January 1st, 1864.—“God in mercy grant that this year may unfold more clearly to my own mind and inward and outward experience His gracious purpose in blasting the cherished wishes and purposes of my whole ministerial life. What work, O Lord, hast Thou in store for me wherewith to glorify Thy holy name? Oh for light on this still dark and most perplexing subject! But I wait, O Lord!—I wait—I wait on Thee.

Tuesday, 19th.—“The sea tempestuous—half a gale. I could not go to Mrs. Ellis as usual between 10 and 11 a.m. At noon made an effort to see her. She had suddenly become worse, and the captain wished me to tell her her case was critical. I could do so with all confidence, for previous conversations with her showed that she was a true follower of the Lamb. Calmly and resignedly to His holy will she spoke, placing her whole

trust and confidence in Him, and in Him alone. ‘Justified,’ she said, ‘by His blood,’ she had nothing to fear for herself, though she feelingly alluded to her husband, her mother and sisters at home, and two young children aboard. Soon after I left her I was obliged again to lie down, and was prostrated the whole day and evening. She died, or rather fell gently asleep in Jesus, about eleven o’clock last night, and this morning at a quarter-past seven was most solemnly consigned to the deep, in her case looking with assured hope to the resurrection of the body, when the sea shall give up her dead. The captain read the English service, and all present were affected even to tears. The presence of the two children, too young to know their loss, touched the hearts of all.

21st.—“This forenoon another soldier died of dysentery, and in half an hour after was consigned to the deep, Captain Strange reading the funeral service. I had been seeing him daily of late; he was very ignorant—could not read. I again and again reiterated the simple principles of the gospel, and prayed with him, but without much satisfaction. To encounter the languor, weakness, and pains of a death-bed, ignorant of the very elements of the gospel! oh, it is a lamentable condition indeed. Captain Strange is a very worthy kind-hearted man, particularly attentive to all the wants of the soldiers, temporal and spiritual.

23rd.—“About 200 miles north of Madagascar. Last night very sleepless. Milton and Cowper, my favourite poets, read as a balm, acted on my turbid spirits somewhat like the spicy breezes from Araby the Blest on the senses or imagination of the old mariners. It is the rare combination of genuine poetry with genuine piety which achieves this result. Being now south of the Mozambique Channel, the wind has changed from S.E. to N.E., and is warmer. The term Mozambique reminds one of the adroitness with which Milton drags everything which constituted the knowledge of his time, by way of similitude, illustration, or otherwise, into his wondrous song. Referring to Satan’s approach to Paradise—delicious Paradise—and to the way in which he was met and regaled by ‘gentle gales,’ which, ‘faunting their odoriferous wings, dispense native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole those balmy spoils,’ he thus proceeds :

' As, when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest, with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.'

27th.—“Last night saw two lights in the direction of the land. A stellar observation showed we were opposite Buffalo River and Mountains. To-day off the eastern extremity of Algoa Bay, so that I must go back the whole distance traversed this morning, our Mission stations being in Kaffraria, east of the Keiskamma River.

29th.—“At noon exactly off Cape Agulhas, the most southerly point of Africa. With my binocular, Durand's parting gift, the lighthouse seen with great clearness. The coast high, bleak, rugged, barren, recalls the exclamation of one of the Scottish emigrants under Mr. Pringle, who arrived in 1820, somewhat farther to the west, near Simon's Bay : ‘Hech, sirs, but this is an ill-favoured and outlandish-looking country. I wad fain hope, that thae hieland hills and muirs are no a fair sample o' our African location.’ The dazzling white masses of sand—white as the driven snow—painfully remind me of Dassen Island, on which we were wrecked, 13th Feb., 1830 surrounded, except at one point, by low rocky reefs, and itself a waste of white sand, in which the penguins lay their eggs, and on which we mainly subsisted for about three days! Praised be God for our wonderful deliverance then, and our continued preservation ever since! I approach the termination of my present voyage with peculiar feelings—knowing no one at Cape Town, a journey inland of 700 miles before me, with not a glimpse of light, as yet, on the course to be pursued. But I approach in faith, because in the path of duty, humbly trusting that, when the time comes, light will arise on my darkness, to the praise and glory of a good, gracious, covenant-keeping God!

30th.—“A furious south-easter! Happily we had turned the Cape, so that the vessel was kept close on to the shore. At dawn we were a little to the south of Table Mountain, the loftiest of that wild and rugged mountain mass which stretches from Table Bay to the Cape, against which, as a

mighty breakwater, the stupendous billows of the confluence of all the great oceans for ever dash and roar. The wind being off land the sea was comparatively smooth, while the gale blew with the force of a hurricane. All around the sky was cloudless, except the summit of Table Mountain, which was covered as usual with a dense mass of clouds, its famous table-cloth. The whole scene was singularly grand. The waves rolling and curling and breaking into spray, and the spray whirled aloft by the furious gusts, gave the appearance all around of a dazzling white mist ; and dashing on the rocks that line the shore seemed to cover them with an elevated bank of foam and vapour, the mountain behind looking down in vast precipices, and towering aloft into mid-air, in rounded tops, or conical peaks, or rugged serrated ridges. At last the sun breaking through the upper edges of the clouds over the Table Mountain, and shining down on shore and sea, gave such a profusion of lights and shades and colours, as no pencil could adequately portray. When fairly abreast of Table Mountain we could not be above half a mile from the shore. To the north-west of the Table Mountain, and separated by a high pass, is the singularly shaped hill which, as seen from Table Bay, resembles a gigantic lion couchant—the southern terminus of it called the Lion's Head, and the northern, Lion's Rump. When close under the head this morning, it looked like a mighty mitre (of cardinal or pope) resting on a dome-like cranium. On the rump we could see the signal flag. Below the rump, at its northern extremity, is Green Point, covered with beautiful villas and gardens; passing it, the whole of Cape Town, embosomed in the vast *cul de sac* or *corrie* of the mountain came into full view. The instant we rounded the point, the wind, which was strong enough before, blew with double fury across the level open between Table Bay and False Bay. But by skilful zigzag tacking the captain beat his way into the anchorage, in the very face of the hurricane fury of the south-easter, casting anchor exactly at half-past eight a.m. I felt impelled at once to enter my closet, shut the door, and return unfeigned thanks to my heavenly Father for the prosperous voyage to this place. Exactly on the evening of this day six weeks I embarked at Calcutta. What reason of gratitude have I for all God's mercies ! The servant who was wont to attend on me tapped at my cabin door, saying

that a gentleman from the shore wanted to see me. It was about five minutes to nine, and we had not been anchored quite half an hour. Who should it prove to be but the Rev. Mr. Morgan, minister of the established Scotch Kirk, to take me to his manse?"

To His Wife.

"*Genadenthal, Moravian Mission, 18th Feb., 1864.*

"This is the thirty-fourth anniversary, alike according to the day of the week, the day of the month and the hour of the night, of our ever memorable shipwreck on Dassen Island. How different my position this evening, in South Africa! Comfortably lodged with the Moravian Brethren in this far-famed village,—the oldest and most populous of all South African Mission stations,—I feel, as it were, forced by the very contrast, to realize more vividly the night scene of thirty-four years ago on these South African shores. What changes and events have been crowded into these thirty-four years! And yet, contrary to all ordinary expectation, both of us still, by God's mercy, in the land of the living, to celebrate Jehovah's loving-kindnesses. Oh, for a live coal from the altar to kindle up this naturally cold and languid heart of mine, so constantly apt to sink back into sluggishness and apathy, into a glow of seraphic fervour, in the review of God's unspeakable mercies!

"In order to see something of the working of other Missions, I soon resolved to proceed to Kaffraria by the ordinary land route. The distance is about 700 miles—about the distance from John o'Groat's House to Land's End in Cornwall. This implied my getting a wagon and eight mules. All this preparation occupied nearly a week, during which I saw many of the Cape Town notabilities. The Bishop and Dean, etc., called on me. The Honble. Mr. Rawson (whose acquaintance I made in Calcutta in 1849,) the Colonial Secretary, was so pressing in his invitation, that I went out with him to his beautifully situated house at Wynberg, and stayed over the night. The next day he took me to call on some of the notables of the place; taking lunch with the Bishop, and I also went out to spend good part of a day with Dr. Adamson. Old Mr. Saunders is still living, and full of inquiries about you.

"On Saturday, 6th Feb., I went by train (for there is a railway line of fifty-eight miles, to Wellington, N.E. of Cape Town) to Stellenbosch, thirty-one miles. There I stayed with Mr.

Murray, one of the professors of the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church. His uncle was the late Dr. Murray, of the Free Church, Aberdeen. There saw the Wesleyan and Rhenish Mission schools, etc. Monday 8th, went by rail on to Wellington, its utmost limit. There saw a French mission. On Tuesday I went by covered cart, across a striking pass to Worcester, upwards of forty miles distant. There I stayed with Mr. Murray, minister of the Dutch Church, and brother of the professor, both most able and devoted men. There saw the Rhenish Mission schools. Wednesday, returned to Stellenbosch. Thursday, went out with Professor Murray to Piniel, twelve miles off, to see an independent self-sustaining mission, under a Mr. Stegman, who is in connection with no society.

"To Eerse River, where I expected to find my wagon waiting for me. There finding all right, after breakfast I set off, in a S.E. direction and close to False Bay, crossed a lofty pass, called Sir Lowry Cole's Pass after the governor who sent the sloop of war to take us from Dassen Island. The custom in travelling here is, at the end of two or three hours, to stop and unyoke the animals (or, according to Colonial Dutch phraseology, to outspan), let them take a roll in the sand, and browse about, and drink water, for an hour. Towards evening came to a small inn, the only one between Cape Town and Genadenthal. I did not like the look of it; so the evening being dry and weather pleasant I slept in my wagon. On Saturday I proceeded to Genadenthal, and the Moravian missionaries with their children and higher students were out in a green hollow, with carts, waiting to salute me."

Christian Missions in South and East Africa are the offspring of those in India. It was Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionary to India, who, after a passing visit to the Cape in 1705, induced the United or Moravian Brethren to evangelize those whom the Dutch called Hottentots. Georg Schmidt, a Bohemian Bunyan, was no sooner freed from his six years' imprisonment for Christ's sake, than, in 1737, he went out to Cape Town. He was with difficulty allowed by the Dutch to begin his mission in Affenthal, in the

hills eighty miles to the east. There he did such a work in the "valley of apes" that a Dutch Governor long after changed its name to the "valley of grace," or Genadenthal. The Boers banished him to Holland, and it was left to the British to begin missions anew. What Ziegenbalg had urged Henry Martyn repeated. Standing beside Sir David Baird, as, in 1806, the British flag a second time waved over the Dutch fort, the evangelical missionary-chaplain of the East India Company prayed "that the capture of the Cape might be ordered to the advancement of Christ's kingdom." From Genadenthal the great light radiated forth, east and north, amid the wars and butcheries which it would have anticipated, till now, after three-quarters of a century, a sixth of the whole population of South Africa, up to the Zambesi, is Christian. There are 180,000 native and 358,000 colonist Christians.* From south to north, from the Cape to the Nile mouths, an ever strengthening chain of missionary stations now draws Africa to Christ.

Dr. Duff went to Africa to inspect those of his own Church, which had begun in Kaffraria in 1821, after the Kaffirs had been driven north behind the Keiskamma. Divided, after the Disruption of 1843, between the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches, portions of which still imagine the existence of a purely metaphysical difference of opinion on the subject of the relation of the Church to the State, these Missions must be united again before there can be an indigenous Kaffir Church. Dr. Duff began, as his letters show, by personally inspecting and stimulating, while he learned experience from, all the Missions along the great trunk route east from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth, north-east by Grahamstown to King Williamstown

* *South Africa and its Mission Fields*, by Rev. J. E. Carlyle. 1878

and the stations in British Kaffraria, then north through the Orange Free State, and then east again into Natal. The time was three years before the first diamond was found. The season was unusually wet but cool. At Port Elizabeth the *Eastern Provinces Herald* thus reported how he met with the sailor who had saved his wife's life in the memorable shipwreck : "Mrs. Duff would have perished but for the dauntless bravery of the second mate. Singularely enough when Dr. Duff visited this port he happened to be here also, and no sooner did he know of the arrival of the veteran missionary than he hurried to the Rev. Mr. Rennie's house once more to see him. The meeting was very affecting, Dr. Duff being unable to conceal his emotion at so unexpectedly beholding the preserver of his wife." The second mate had become Captain Saxon.

Ecclesiastically all South Africa was in a commotion, not for the christianization of the forty or fifty millions of Kaffirs, but because of sacerdotal and also evangelical struggles between Bishop Gray, claiming to be Metropolitan of Africa, and Dr. Colenso, insisting on remaining Bishop of Natal. But for the sacerdotalism involved, the defence of Christian truth by Bishop Gray, and especially by Dean Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Bombay, would demand the unqualified gratitude of the whole Church. On the evangelical side of it Dr. Duff was so strongly drawn to Bishop Gray that he wrote to him several letters, two of which appear in the prelate's Biography. "Among the many letters of the period, the Bishop," writes his son, "was pleased with one from Dr. Alexander Duff, a well-known Free Kirk missionary from India, who was at that time travelling in Africa. 'Since my arrival,' he says, 'I have been perusing, with painful yet joyous interest, the trial of the Bishop of Natal for

erroneous teaching, painful because of the erroneous teaching, joyous because of the noble stand made by your lordship and the clergy at large for true primitive apostolic teaching.' " Again, from Maritzburg, where he heard the Bishop's charge, Dr. Duff repeated his expressions of sympathetic appreciation. But we know, from a conversation which we had with him immediately on his return from Africa, that he did more than this. At Wynberg, where the Bishop and he sat up a whole night discussing the history and cause of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Duff demonstrated to the sacerdotal Metropolitan, who had denounced "the Privy Council as the great Dagon of the English Church," that the spiritual independence inalienable from any Church worthy of Christ's name and spirit is not, and was not in the Free Church struggle, the supremacy of priests and prelates who unchurch others by the fiction of "the grace of orders," but the right of the whole body, lay and clerical, as a kingdom of priests unto God, to worship Him, and administer all purely spiritual affairs solely according to conscience and without interference by the State, which has no jurisdiction there whether it endow the Church or not. "Hence," said Dr. Duff to a prelate of whom the High Church party are proud though they still lack the courage of their convictions, "your remedy is secession, with its initial sacrifice of state support and social prestige." The practical commentary on Dr. Duff's teaching was the action of Dean Douglas, whose indictment of Bishop Colenso in the metropolitan's court is a master-piece of evangelical theology. Yet when Bishop of Bombay he publicly declared that there could be no true or acceptable Christianity in India which did not flow from himself and those who like himself (and the Latin and Greek Churches) imagine they have "the grace of orders."

Dr. Duff began his work as representative of the committee of Foreign Missions, at its principal South African station of Lovedale, on the 17th March, 1864. The station is 650 miles north-east of Cape Town, and forty from King Williamstown. There to the presbytery, in conference, "he gave a long and interesting address in a low voice, often speaking in a whisper," according to the local report. The scholarly work of the Rev. W. Govan, founder of the chief missionary institute in the colony, he broadened and developed, alike on its industrial and educational side, following his Calcutta experience. At that time the Kaffir Christian community of the Lovedale district was 965 strong, of whom 345 were communicants. From Lovedale, nestling in low hills like Moffat, he proceeded to the large station of Burnshill, fifteen miles to the east, among the Amatole mountains, once Sandilli's capital, in the very heart of the scenes of five Kaffir wars. On the eastern side of these hills is the Pirie station, then conducted by the veteran Rev. John Ross, at that time forty years in the field. At all, and at King Williamstown, Peelton, and elsewhere, he preached through interpreters and mastered every detail of the work, putting it in a new position alike for greater efficiency and expansion. Thence he pursued the still long and difficult track through Basutoland with its French Mission stations, delayed by swollen and unbridged rivers and tracks impassable for the rain. But the climate he pronounced as in the main a fine one, in which Europeans enjoy as good health as in Australia. At Queenstown, in April, he saw hoarfrost for the first time for many years. Delayed by natural obstacles, and often tempted to turn back, he wrote from Winburgh in the Orange Free State, "I am content to go on, having only one object supremely in view, to ascertain the state and

prospects of things in these regions in a missionary sense, so as to have authentic materials for future guidance if privileged to take the helm of our Foreign Mission affairs."

After reaching Maritzburg, where he had much intercourse with Bishop Gray, and being attracted by the success of the Rev. Mr. Allison, at Edendale, he returned by steamer from Port Natal to Cape Town, where he received a public breakfast. Thence he sailed in the *Saxon*,—named after the second mate of the *Lady Holland*,—to England, which he reached in July. The fruits of his six months' tour of inspection we shall trace in the consolidation of the old, and the creation of new missionary agencies for Africa. While he had been at work in the south, Livingstone was exploring in the east and the centre of Africa, and both were unconsciously preparing for united action for the christianization of the Kaffir race, from the Keiskamma to the head of Lake Nyassa. As Duff was leaving Natal for the Cape, Livingstone, having completed his great Zambesi expedition of 1858–1864, was boldly crossing the Indian Ocean to Bombay in the little *Lady Nyassa* steam launch manned by seven natives who had never before seen the sea.

Dr. Duff reached Edinburgh just in time to address the "commission" of the General Assembly, on the 10th August. Speedily he took his way north to his own county of Perth, in order to take part in the ordination of the Rev. W. Stevenson as a missionary to Madras. The city hall could not contain the crowds to whom, after a sermon by John Milne surcharged with his Calcutta experiences, Dr. Duff addressed burning words on zeal in Foreign Missions the evidence of a revived Church. In Aberdeen, whence the Countess welcomed him to Haddo House, he had strength, a week after, to take part in the

ordination of another missionary to Madras. "Notwithstanding his enfeebled health his voice was distinctly heard over the large audience, and his eloquent and seasonable address was listened to with close attention and evident delight," is the record of the local reporters. Soon there arrived from Calcutta intelligence which increased his activity before he was physically equal to the strain. A cyclone, more disastrous in the destruction of life and property than any he had witnessed or has since been experienced, swept over the mouth of the Ganges on the 5th October. From Calcutta to Mahanad the hurricane levelled not a few of the mission buildings, churches, schools and houses. The Rev. K. S. and Mrs. Macdonald, then in charge, reported that sixty girls in the Calcutta Orphanage, and their own children, were nearly buried under the ruins of the old house. In a few hours after receiving the news the sympathetic veteran, well knowing all that the disaster involved, organized an effort to raise two thousand pounds, and really sent out five thousand. This rash waste of returning strength had its result in his enforced absence from the General Assembly of 1865; but Dr. Murray Mitchell, who represented him, announced a home income for Foreign Missions in the previous year of £27,000, besides £3,000 reported by Dr. James Hamilton to the Synod of the English Presbyterian Church as annually contributed for its vigorous mission in China.

At this period, too, Dr. Duff was cheered by the fact that, for the first time in the history of British India, a missionary college—his own—had been formally visited by a Governor-General. Sir John Lawrence had learned, in his Punjab and Mutiny experience, the truth which he thus expressed in a formal representation to Lord Canning, the first Viceroy: "Sir John Lawrence does entertain the earnest belief that

all those measures which are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India, not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will never, the Chief Commissioner is convinced, alienate the heathen. About such things there are qualities which do not provoke nor excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned. The difficulty is, amid the political complications, the conflicting social considerations, the fears and hopes of self-interest which are so apt to mislead human judgment, to discern clearly what is imposed upon us by Christian duty and what is not. Having discerned this, we have but to put it into practice. Sir John Lawrence is satisfied that, within the territories committed to his charge, he can carry out all those measures which are really matters of Christian duty on the part of the Government. And, further, he believes that such measures will arouse no danger; will conciliate instead of provoking, and will subserve to the ultimate diffusion of the truth among the people." The pro-consul of the Punjab, who wrote these words, went further, urging the Viceroy that this policy "be openly avowed and universally acted on throughout the Empire," "so that the people may see we have no sudden or sinister designs, and so that we may exhibit that harmony and uniformity of conduct which befits a Christian nation striving to do its duty." When he himself was called by critical times to the same high office, his Excellency visited in state and presided at the first examination of Dr. Duff's college held after he landed, just as he inspected the Government colleges and presided as Chancellor of the University.

What a change from even Lord William Bentinck's time,—from the days when Macaulay used his Indian experience to dogmatize to Mr. Gladstone on Church and State! We have not Dr. Duff's letter to the Governor-General, but this was the simple reply of the Viceroy, whom, as they lately laid him to rest beside Livingstone and Outram and Colin Campbell, in the nave of Westminster Abbey, the Dean most truly pronounced to be the Joshua of the British Empire:

JOHN LAWRENCE TO ALEXANDER DUFF.

“February, 1865.—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 31st January, and I am sure that I wish I could have been of more service to the Free Church Institution than I have been, for it is calculated to do much good among the superior classes of Bengal society. The advances they have made in education since I was a young man are very remarkable, but it is too generally in secular knowledge only. Your Institution seems to be the only one in which a large number have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Christian religion also, and certainly, if we can judge from outward appearances, they have not neglected to do so.”

Now that Dr. Duff was fairly and permanently in Scotland, he felt that the time had come to lay broad and deep in his own country and Church the foundations of that missionary enterprise to which he regarded all his previous home campaigns as preparatory. Here, as in India, he must leave behind him a system based on and worked by living principles, which would grow and expand and bless the people long after he was forgotten. Financially his quarterly associations were well, but they would be worthless if not fed by spiritual forces and not directed by spiritual men. And he had learned, even in the first year after his return, to be weary of the narrow controversies and sectarian competition which, though inseparable from such a time of transition as that through which

Scotland, like all other countries, is passing to a reconstructed Kirk, are hostile to catholic energy and spiritual life. So he determined to launch his scheme of a Missionary Propaganda—of a professorship of Evangelistic Theology, a practical Missionary Institute, and a Missionary Quarterly Review..

No building is so familiar to the eyes of the many English and Americans who annually winter in Rome as the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. Standing on one side of the Piazza di Spagna, fronted by that hideous specimen of modern statuary which was erected by Pio Nono to commemorate the myth of the Immaculate Conception, the college looks like a desolate barrack or theatre, out of which long files of youths march every morning and evening for a little fresh air. Yet, unattractive as is the building designed by Bernini, and forbidding the whole aspect of the place, there is no spot in Rome so full of modern interest and so free from all that Protestants are accustomed to dislike in the long papal capital. Two centuries and a half ago the fifteenth Gregory founded that college, to be the nurse of missionaries and the retreat of scholars from all parts of the earth. There, in languages more numerous than those in which the public are invited to confess to the priests who flit about St. Peter's, youths of almost every tribe and nation and kingdom and tongue are fitted to go forth to tell the story of the Cross—and something more, unfortunately—to the heathen world. A library of thirty thousand volumes, rich in oriental manuscripts and works bearing on the superstitions of man's religions, supplies an armoury for the student. The Museo Borgia, which boasts a portrait of the infamous Pope Alexander VI. side by side with the famous Codex Mexicanus, contains specimens of the idols, the arts and the industries of every country in the world

from China to Peru. And the Propaganda is completed by the possession of a printing establishment, which turns out works in almost every language, of rare typographical beauty as well as considerable scholarship. Two hundred professors who are themselves generally returned missionaries, upwards of a hundred and twenty youths are always under training to work in that field which is the world, whose harvests are ever white for the sickle which there are so few reapers to wield.

Duff had long been fascinated by the idea of a nursery of evangelists, from Iona and the capitular bodies of the old cathedrals to that tolerated for a time by the Dutch under Walæus at Leyden, in 1612, and to the great creation of Gregory XV. in 1622. Nor should it be forgotten that "the philosophic missionary," the pioneer of all martyr-missionaries in Africa, Raymond Lull, had implored the Pope and the princes of Europe to found Christian propagandas. In 1811 he obtained from the Council of Vienna a decree for their establishment in the Universities of Paris, Oxford, and Salamanca; while, in his own Majorca, he procured the foundation of a monastery for the instruction of thirteen students in Arabic and the Muhammadan controversy.

When Cromwell used to play with the proposal to make him king, he declared to the Grison, Stoupe, whom he used as a trusty agent in foreign affairs, that he would "commence his reign with the establishment of a council for the Protestant religion," in opposition to Gregory's Propaganda, which had produced the slaughter of the Vaudois and Milton's sonnet. In old Chelsea College the council were to train men, and from it they were to help in the evangelization of Scandinavia and Turkey, of the East and West Indies, as well as of the Latin Church. In

1677 Dr. Hyde would have made Christ Church, Oxford, a "Collegium de Propaganda Fide." The father of all Christian scientists, Robert Boyle, when an East India director, revised the project for India which Prideaux advocated under the reign of William in 1694. And, so long ago as 1716, one of the earlier chaplains of the East India Company, Mr. Stevenson, urged the establishment of colleges in Europe to train missionaries and to teach them the languages.

"When passing through the theological curriculum of St. Andrews," said Dr. Duff to the General Assembly, "I was struck markedly with this circumstance, that throughout the whole course of the curriculum of four years not one single allusion was ever made to the subject of the world's evangelization—the subject which constitutes the chief end of the Christian Church on earth. I felt intensely that there was something wrong in this omission. According to any just conception of the Church of Christ, the grand function it has to discharge in this world cannot be said to begin and end in the preservation of internal purity of doctrine, discipline and government. All this is merely for burnishing it so as to be a lamp to give light not to itself only but also to the world. There must be an outcome of that light, lest it prove useless, and thereby be lost and extinguished. Why has it got that light, but that it should freely impart it to others? Years afterwards, on the banks of the Ganges, we heard that this Free Church had determined to set up its Hall of Theology, and that Dr. Welsh had succeeded so remarkably in procuring funds—thanks to those who have been so liberal since, the merchant princes of Glasgow!—that besides the ordinary theological chairs, there were to be chairs of Natural Science, Logic, and Moral Philosophy, all demanded by the peculiar necessities of the times. I could not

help feeling that now was the time for advancing a step farther, and on the spur of the moment was led to write to my noble friend Dr. Gordon, the Convener of the Indian Foreign Missions, to the effect, that surely this was the time and occasion for setting up a chair for Missions—in short, a Missionary Professorship; that as the Free Church in her General Assembly had started as a missionary church, her New College should start as a missionary college. On my second return from India I talked of the subject to various influential men in the Church, amongst others to the late Dr. Cunningham, who approved highly of the object; but even he did not think the time was ripe for it. Crossing the Atlantic, I was wont to talk of it much to our friends in America; and there was one Synod of the Presbyterian Church there that agreed to instruct its professor of theology to make this a distinct subject of his prelections, namely to lecture on Evangelistic Theology; and that is the only lectureship of the kind that I know of. On my last return from India I felt intensely, looking at the state of the country generally, that there was still much need of such a professorship, and perhaps the more need, because the world is more agitated and restless than ever, and young men more flighty, because of the multitude of secular openings in every direction."

An endowment of £10,000 was at once supplied for the chair by men of various evangelical Churches. When the General Assembly of 1867, with whom the appointment of the first professor rested, could not agree as to which of two experienced missionaries, from Calcutta and Bombay, should be appointed to it, Dr. Duff was most unwillingly compelled to accept the appointment by the unanimous call of his Church. The donors, while sharing his enthusiasm, had desired to honour him by calling the chair by his name. This

at least he prevented. They secured their personal as well as missionary object far more effectually, as they and he thought, by stipulating only that the professorship should be of the status, and be devoted to the subjects his irresistible statement of which had led them to supply the capital of the endowment. Otherwise the money was made over unconditionally to the General Assembly, and by Dr. Duff as the representative of the donors—of whom he himself was one—without legal document and so accepted by the Assembly in the act legislatively creating the professorship, “with consent of a majority of presbyteries.”

Dr. Duff was so jealous, in his Master’s cause, of attempts made by a few ministers and professors to minimise the chair as novel to or inconsistent with the theological course of Protestant—and up to his own time non-missionary Churches—that immediately before the meeting of that General Assembly he thus took care to secure the deliberate co-operation and formal consent of the donors. All have survived him, and their strong opinions in favour of the continuance of the chair as he devised it are known to his Church. These letters to the largest of the donors, H. M. Matheson, Esq., have been submitted to us by that generous elder of the Presbyterian Church of England.

“17th May, 1867.

“MY DEAR MR. MATHESON,— . . As regards the missionary professorship—to my own mind it is most perplexing, and despite all my endeavours and prayers fills me with an anxiety that is well nigh crushing and overwhelming. (1) I know not what your views are with regard to the proposal emanating from many quarters, that the chair should be left open to the appointment of a home minister as well as a foreign missionary. Some of the contributors, I know, would decidedly object to this, except in a case, not likely I hope ever to arise, viz., the Church’s declaring that, among all her foreign

missionaries, retired or in the field, there was not one reasonably competent to fill it. And (2) I know not what your views are with reference to another proposal, which has gained extensive favour, viz., that, after the first appointment, it would be left open to make all subsequent ones only temporary, or for a few years—thus reducing the professorship to a lectureship, and depriving the occupant of the chair of that accumulating influence over students and others which the status of a professor and long experience undoubtedly give. Some of the contributors, I know, would object to such an innovation in the case of the missionary chair. And I confess it is altogether different from my own understanding of the subject when applying to parties for contributions. Now if the Church were to sanction either or both of these proposals, and any of the contributors were to object, and decline to give their moneys unless the proposals were set aside, you can see what a dilemma we should be in, and how harassing such a dilemma to my own mind.

20th May.—“I have no words wherewith to express my indebtedness to you for the relief which your letter, received this morning, has afforded to my sorely burdened spirit. My own trust, all along, has been in a good and gracious God. I could not but believe that the cause was His; and I had something of an assurance that, if so, He would not suffer it, in the end, to be wholly defeated. And yet, in spite of all this I could not, in the hour of nature’s weakness, amid apparently insuperable difficulties, help being filled with anxieties, and that too in very proportion to the greatness and goodness of the cause which seemed on the verge of shipwreck. You may judge then of the relief which such a letter as yours at once afforded me. I could not help falling down on my knees to thank God for it; and the very first words which came into mind were literally these: ‘O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?’ In the course of my own strangely chequered life I have had so many palpable answers to prayer, that I now feel deeply under a sense of the sin and shame of having, for a moment, given way to unbelieving doubts at all in connection with a cause that so vitally concerns the honour and cause of the adorable Saviour.

25th May.—“I have to thank you for your last kind note; but delayed replying to it till I could report definitely on the

two points previously alluded to. Having now seen Candlish, Buchanan and other leaders, I am warranted to say that all are of one mind on the subject; and that, in some suitable way, provision will be made to ensure in all time coming the appointment of an experienced foreign missionary to the chair, and that it shall be a professorship for life. All this I have now reason to believe will be satisfactorily secured. . . As it is, all, I find, are hearty in carrying it out; and for the most part according to the expressed wishes of the contributors. There is therefore now no occasion, I am happy to say, for your coming to Edinburgh.

27th May.—“To-day the professorship affair came on. The two points were conceded, the election was made, and, to my own surprise, I am now the professor! Oh, for grace to guide, direct and uphold me!

“Were it not for your timely interposition it is impossible that the matter could have been concluded as it has been. To you, therefore, under God I feel pre-eminently indebted, though the cause is not mine but the Lord Jesus Christ's. Being wearied I can say no more now, having been out from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.”

One circumstance which reconciled Dr. Duff to the toil of not only preparing lectures for the chair, but of delivering them in the three colleges, in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, every winter, was this, that he saved the whole salary for the foundation of the second portion of his most catholic project, the Missionary Institute. For he refused to touch any income as professor, or as convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, being content with the modest revenue from the Duff Missionary Fund. The bulk of that, even, he used to give away on the rule of systematic beneficence, of which he had always been the eloquent advocate. The Institute, as described by himself in his inaugural lecture to the students on the 7th November, 1867, still remains to be established by the ministers, elders, and members of the evangelical Churches who, under Lord Polwarth, have recently

drafted its constitution as the best memorial of him. The *Missionary Quarterly*, apart from the denominational or official record of each church and society, he did not live to see. Planned under the editorship of Canon Tristram, with promises of assistance from a most competent literary and missionary staff representing all the Churches, the much desired Quarterly does not seem to have found catholicity enough at home for its vigorous support. But in the East the *Indian Evangelical Review*, a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort, has for seven years done well for all the Church catholic abroad the work which is far more needed by the Church divided at home.

But though the Institute and the Quarterly still await Christian statesmanship in Great Britain, like the united college which he proposed in 1832 in Calcutta, and charity like his own to establish them, he took care that the professorship, of which he was himself one of the founders, should not be tampered with when he could no longer guard their rights. The Assembly having legislatively created the professorship, he did not rest until the same supreme court of his Church in the same way made attendance on the lectures in evangelistic theology part of the course essential for licence and ordination. When the present writer was one of the Assembly's commissioners for the quinquennial visitation of the New College, Dr. Duff prepared a scheme for the development of the chair, so, as to enable it to cover the whole subject of comparative religion, or the science of religion, or the relation of the faiths of the non-Christian world to the Divine revelation of God in Christ. This, indeed, he had sketched in his inaugural lecture as the fourth of the nine parts of a collegiate course of evangelistic theology. Honoured to be the first of the Reformed Churches to make theology in its relation to

the creeds and cults of heathendom a compulsory part of its eight years training of students of divinity, the Free Church of Scotland has the opportunity of making its academic course still more complete in the appointment of Dr. Duff's successor in the chair.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1867-1878.

NEW MISSIONS AND THE RESULTS OF HALF A CENTURY'S WORK.

Missions on the Hortatory Method.—David's Example and Systematic Beneficence.—The Gonds of Central India.—Sir Richard Temple and Stephen Hislop.—The Santals of the Bengal Uplands.—Narayan Sheshadri's Rural Mission.—Bethel and Sir Salar Jung.—Mission Buildings and Salaries.—Correspondence with Lord Northbrook on English Education.—United Christian College of Madras.—Dr. Duff at the Church Mission's Committee.—The Communion of Saints and Missionary Faith.—The Anglo-Indian Christian Union.—Letter from Lord Lawrence.—Drs. Duff and Lumsden visit the Lebanon.—Relation of the Mission to the Presbyterian Board of the United States.—Extension of Kaffrarian Mission to the Transkei Country.—Natal Missions and Sir Peregrine Maitland.—James Allison.—Dr. Duff and the Aberdeen Family.—A Bright Career.—Gordon Memorial Mission to the Zulus.—Dr. Livingstone's Zambezi Project.—Discovers Lake Nyassa.—His Letters to the Free Church.—Rev. Dr. Stewart's Proposal.—Dr. Duff Launches the Livingstonia Expedition in 1875.—His Heroic Wish in 1877.—The Unconscious Founder of the New Hebrides Mission.—Dr. William Symington's Diary.—The Immediate Fruit of Forty-nine Years of Missionary Work.

Not only as professor of Evangelistic Theology, but as superintendent or, so far as Presbyterian parity allowed, director of the Foreign Missions of his Church, Dr. Duff had the care of all the churches till the day of his death. None the less was he the adviser, referee, and fellow-helper of the other missionary agencies of Great Britain and America. His third of a century's experience of India, what he had learned in his careful tour of inspection in Africa, his

personal study of both Europe and America, were henceforth all concentrated on one point—the consolidation and extension of the Missions. For this end he ever sought to perfect the internal organization of his own Church, which he had created at what an expenditure of splendid toil we have told. During the two years 1865 and 1866, the records of his office and of the General Assembly, and the newspapers of the day, show that he held conferences with the ministers, office-bearers and collectors of each congregation and presbytery over a large part of Scotland, informing, stimulating and often filling them with an enthusiasm like his own. Nothing was too humble, nothing too wearisome for one already sixty years of age, if only the great cause could be advanced. To him a conference meant not a quiet talk but a burning exposition. As in 1866 the ordinary home income reached an annual average of £16,000, and the fees and grants-in-aid united with the subscriptions of Christian people abroad to double that, he felt that the time had come for new missions.

He had told the General Assembly of 1865, in his first report, that their committee were “not only intensely anxious to strengthen their stakes, but also greatly to lengthen their cords. This can be done in either, or both, of two ways—either by giving larger scope and development to existing operations within the fields already chosen, or by entering on entirely new fields and there breaking up wholly new ground. For the active prosecution of either, or both, of these courses, your committee are prepared, to whatever extent this venerable Assembly may approve, or the Church at large may supply the necessary means. . . . Our plan never was intended to be—and, in point of fact, never actually was—a narrow, one-sided, fixed, exclusive plan; but, on the contrary, in its original

conception, a broad, all-comprehending plan; only, its breadth and comprehension were to be gradually evolved or unfolded from a rudimental germ—requiring years of growth to exhibit its real nature and design, and whole generations for reaping the full harvest of its ripened fruits. From the very outset the two kindred and reciprocally auxiliary processes of training the young for varied future usefulness, and addressing the adults, through whatever lingual medium might be found most effective in reaching their understandings and their hearts, were simultaneously carried on, side by side."

But he had provided for the development of the colleges through their local support, leaving the whole increased subscriptions of his Church thenceforth to go to "addressing the adults" in the rural districts of India, and in the barbarous lands of Africa and Oceania. To the General Assembly of 1867, in an oration full of his old fire, he thus commended and illustrated the principle on which he had acted all his life and sought to support his whole missionary advance :

"The Systematic Beneficence Society is based on the grand principle of holding ourselves responsible to God for all that we have, and that it is our bounden duty to devote a large portion of the income which He may be pleased to give us directly to His cause and for His glory. It does seem strange that the great principle which lies at the root of the Beneficence Society—the grand New Testament principle, the principle of being stewards of God's bounties—should be looked upon by many in these days as if it were a novelty. Why, it is a principle which is at least three thousand years old. We have the grandest exemplification of it in the history of David in First Chronicles xxix. In that chapter we are told how David poured

out of his treasury gold and silver and precious stones ; and when he had set the example which he did, he appealed to his nobles, and they liberally responded. Example is better than precept, and what took place in David's case was just what might have been expected. What was even more remarkable than the liberality displayed, was the willingness of heart which was shown. In fact, the whole principle of the Systematic Beneficence Society was expounded and acted out by David. If David's principle was acted upon now, instead of the subscriptions from the whole of our members to the Foreign Missions being four-fifths of a farthing for a week, it would be four-fifths of a shilling, and would not stop even there. On one occasion, when in Calcutta, I received a letter from an officer who had served in the Sindh campaign. He had received between three thousand and four thousand rupees as his share of the prize money. I had seen him only once, when he happened to be passing through Calcutta. Having taken him to visit our Institution, he was greatly struck with it. In that letter he sent what he called a tithe of his prize money, amounting to upwards of three hundred rupees, as a thank-offering to God. I thanked him warmly for his liberality ; and in doing so happened to refer to the 29th chapter of Chronicles and 14th verse, stating that it was a blessed thing to have the means of giving, but that it was still more blessed when God was graciously pleased to give us the disposition to part with these means. Some two or three weeks afterwards I received a second letter from the same officer, containing the whole of the rupees which he had received for his prize money, accompanied with the remark, 'I had often read that chapter and that passage, but it had never struck me in that light before ; and I thank God for putting it into my heart to do as "I have done.'

He then desired me to acknowledge the receipt of the sum in a particular newspaper, but stated that I was not to mention his name, but to say that it was from 1 Chronicles xxix. 14. That was not all. When the time arrived that he was able to retire upon a pension, instead of coming home, as many do, to indulge themselves in luxurious ease and idleness, he entered as a volunteer in the service of his Lord, and became a practical missionary in India, for which his knowledge of the vernacular and his other qualifications eminently qualified him; and I can assure this Assembly that it was a noble work that he rendered. He is, alas! no more; but 'his works do follow him.'

The first new mission which Dr. Duff helped into existence was to the Gonds of Central India. From Nagpore Stephen Hislop had spent many a week among them in their hilly fastnesses, studying their language, taking down their almost Biblical traditions, and telling them of Him to whom their dim legends pointed, the Desire of all nations. When Sir Richard Temple was sent by Lord Canning to rescue the Central Provinces from misrule, Hislop became his guide and friend. The fruit of the missionary's researches appeared in one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of so-called pre-historic man, his "Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces." As the disciple of John Lawrence Sir R. Temple felt a keen interest in the millions of the rude tribes entrusted to him. On his first furlough thereafter, in August, 1865, he spent some days with Dr. Duff in Edinburgh, who acted as his guide over the city and—as he confessed to us with a twinkle—took him thrice in one day to long Scotch services. The two carefully discussed the subject of a mission to the Gonds, Mr. Hislop's papers on whom had just appeared. The result was the despatch of Mr. Dawson,

from the Nagpore staff, with the native catechist Hardie, to Chindwara, as a centre, a healthy station in the Gond uplands of Deogurh. Gondee has been reduced to writing, and portions of Scripture have appeared in the language. Dr. Duff would fain have sent a missionary to the Sutnamees, the aboriginal sect of theistic worshippers of the "pure name" of God in the east of the Central Provinces, but that field was soon after supplied by the Germans.

Ever since, in 1862, he had wandered over the forest land of the simple Santals, a hundred and fifty miles to the north of the rural missions in Hooghly and Burdwan, he had determined to plant a mission among that section of the people who were not cared for by the Church Missionary Society along the south bank of the Ganges, and by the Baptists on the Orissa and Behar sides. The Rev. J. D. Don and Dr. M. Mitchell were enabled by him to begin operations at Pachumba in 1869, when the chord line of the East Indian Railway opened up the south country, skirted by the grand trunk road, and under the shadow of the Jain mountain of Parisnath. There, under three Scottish missionaries, medical, evangelistic and teaching, in Santalee, Hindee and Bengalee, a staff of convert-catechists has been formed and a living native church created. The Santals, whom official neglect, tolerating the oppression of Bengalee usurers, drove into rebellion in 1855, are coming over in hundreds to the various Churches, and promise to become a Christian people in a few generations. When ritualistic sacerdotalism for a time introduced discord into the neighbouring Church of the Kols of Chota Nagpore, evangelized by the Lutheran missionaries sent out by Pastor Gossner, the proposal was made to Dr. Duff that he should enter on a portion of the field.

But though his own province, Bengal, enjoyed the least of Dr. Duff's fostering care, from Bombay the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri, the first educated Brahman who had joined the Church of Western India, went boldly forth to evangelize his peasant countrymen and the outcast tribes in the villages around Brahmanical Indapoort, to the south of Poona, and in the country of the Nizam, of which Jalna is a British cantonment. As the catechumens around Jalna increased into a large community, they became perplexed by the denial of hereditary rights in the soil, and by the impossibility in a native principiately of enjoying such sanitary and self-administering institutions as Christianity recommends. A new society had sprung to life from among the corruption of the old, but to have fair play it must have standing ground of its own. Accordingly the Christian Brahman applied to the Arab prime minister of the Muhammadan Nizam of Hyderabad to grant a site to the Hindoo and outcast cultivators and artisans who had become Christ's. The reply was the concession of land rent-free for twenty-five years. There, under the protection of the Jalna cantonment, three miles distant, Narayan Sheshadri has made his village at once a model and a guarantee of what India will yet become. The pretty stone church, named Bethel, —Hebrew rather than Marathee,—stands in the centre of a square, on either of two sides of which are the public institutions of the young community: manse, schools, hospital, serai, market, smithy, wells. Within a radius of ninety miles are ten large towns, where, and in the intervening country, the catechists of Bethel evangelize their countrymen. The light has shined forth into the adjoining province of Berar, penetrated by the Bombay and Calcutta railway at this end as the Santal country is at the other. No part of his duty gave Dr. Duff greater delight than that of assisting

in such an experiment as this, illustrating at once the principles of his system and supplying to all India an example for imitation.

The expansion of the Missions forced on Dr. Duff the necessity of making a special appeal to the country for a fund to build houses for the missionaries, and substantial schools, in Africa as well as in India, where these did not exist. The task of raising £50,000 for this purpose was almost repulsive to him with his other engagements. But after a deliberate and persistent fashion he set himself to it. He conducted a correspondence on the subject which it is even now almost appalling to read. He was zealously aided by members of the committee, and the result was success. The greater part of the money was paid in a few years, and has now been expended in manses, preaching halls, and schools which place the missionary in the heart of his work, and, for the first time in many instances, surround him by the same sanitary advantages as his countrymen enjoy in the European quarters of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Even before this, the rise of prices in these cities and throughout India, which had begun in the Crimean and culminated in the United States war, compelled the committee to revise the whole scale of salaries. To this, as one who had ever denied himself and who was beginning to live not a little in the past, he was reluctant to turn. He keenly felt the danger of robbing the missionary's life of its generally realized ideal of self-sacrifice for Him who spared not Himself, and so of attracting to the grandest of careers the meanest of men—the merely professional missionary. Few though they were, he had seen such failures in the Lord of the harvest's field. But duty prevailed, and he set about the work with business-like comprehensiveness. After a conference of conveners and secretaries, sitting in Edin-

burgh, had taken evidence and discussed the whole subject of missionary economics, he consented that the committee should be asked to sanction an increase somewhat proportioned to the rise of prices. And so, while as convener he left behind him a well-organized missionary staff, he and his committee went no further than the standard of such a subsistence allowance as, by keeping off family care and pecuniary worry, should permit the absorption of the whole man in the divine work.

When, in 1872, Lord Northbrook was designated Governor-General, in succession to Lord Mayo whose assassination called forth from Dr. Duff a warm eulogy of that Viceroy, the missionary made a representation to his old friend on the subject of the education despatch of 1854. After a year's experience of his high office, his Excellency thus addressed Dr. Duff:

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA, January 31st, 1873.

“DEAR DR. DUFF,—As you were so good as to communicate with me before I left England through Mr. [now Lord] Kinnaird, I feel no hesitation in sending you the enclosed copy of a resolution upon education which will be issued to-morrow, and which is the first expression of my views upon educational questions. Matters have been rather complicated here by some resolutions of the Government of India issued in 1869, which went, in my opinion, too far in the direction of withdrawing Government support from the English colleges, and created great alarm among the educated natives. . . . I have tried, while supporting Mr. [now Sir George] Campbell as I am bound to do, especially for his efforts to spread education among the people, and to give a more practical turn to it, to satisfy our native friends that we are no enemies to high English education; and, in so doing, I have taken the opportunity to repeat the principles laid down in 1854, especially the position to be held by Sanskrit in the educational scheme. . . .

“I have had two very interesting conversations with Dr. Wilson at Bombay. My impression is that there is much room

for improvement in the scheme for degrees at the Calcutta University, and in the class-books and subjects for the University examinations, and I have communicated with the Syndicate who have appointed a committee to inquire into the subject. Another and more serious question has arisen from some particulars which Mr. Murdoch (the secretary in India of the Christian Vernacular Education Society) has brought forward as to the contents of some of the vernacular class-books in the Government schools in Madras. It seemed to me to be very undesirable to direct public attention to this. The manner in which I shall deal with it is to direct an inquiry into the general suitability of the books used in Government schools, and to communicate confidentially with the different Governments, requesting them to take the opportunity of expurgating the vernacular school books, if necessary, by the removal of any gross passages.—I am,

Yours very sincerely,

"NORTHBROOK."

"PATTERDALE, PENRITH, 30th April, 1873.

"DEAR LORD NORTHBROOK,—I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to your Lordship for writing to me as you have done, amid your heavy cares and anxieties, on the subject of your educational policy. . . . Soon after the letter was put into my hands, with the Government resolution on education, a telegram from India announced that your Lordship had delivered a great speech on the subject of education to the Convocation of the Calcutta University.

"Let me in a single sentence say that I have read the Government resolution and your Lordship's speech not only with unfeigned but unmingled delight and admiration. In the general views expressed in them—views characterized as much by their wisdom and practical prudence as by their largeness, comprehensiveness, generosity and liberality—I entirely concur. Indeed, there is scarcely a syllable in either which I could wish to see altered; and as a friend of India, I do feel cordially grateful to your Lordship for so noble an exposition and so clear an enforcement of great and enlightened principles, such as those so distinctly laid down in the great Educational Despatch of 1854, for the carrying out of which in its full integrity I have always strenuously contended. The proposed

mode also of dealing with the question raised by Mr. Murdoch about vernacular class-books and class or text-books, generally appears to me eminently judicious. Your Lordship will kindly excuse me for presuming to write in this way, but I cannot help it, as it is the joint utterance of head and heart.

Rejoicing in the brilliant inauguration of your Lordship's Indian career, and praying that the God of Providence may guide, direct and sustain you under the tremendous responsibilities of your exalted office,—I remain,

Very gratefully and sincerely yours,

"ALEXANDER DUFF."

If Lord Northbrook's views had continued to prevail, like those of all his predecessors, back to Lord William Bentinck's time—save Lord Auckland—there could not have arisen those causes of complaint which have ever since marked the hostility of the educational departments in India to the despatch, and which led Lord Lawrence to unite with the missionary societies in proposals for a protest to the Secretary of State for India. This action of the Governor-General in favour of the catholic principles of 1854, alike in the higher and in primary education, was followed by a most satisfactory development of the Institution at Madras. In 1832 Dr. Duff and the Calcutta Missionary Conference had in vain proposed to their Churches at home to co-operate in the extension of the then infant Institution as a united Christian college, to train students for all the Missions. In 1874 he joyfully received a similar project from Madras for the union of the Free Church, Church Missionary and Wesleyan Societies in the development of its Institution into one well-equipped and catholic Christian college for all Southern India. The five years' experiment has proved so successful an illustration of evangelical unity and educational efficiency that the college is likely to be permanently placed under a joint board, representing not

only these Churches, but the Established Church of Scotland.

The essential unity of all evangelical Christians Dr. Duff never rejoiced to exemplify more than along with the Church Missionary Society. He happened to be in London on the 5th January, 1869, when the general committee had met for the solemn duty of sending forth three experienced missionaries and ministers to India. These were Mr. (now Bishop) French ; the late Rev. J. W. Knott, who resigned a rich living for a missionary's grave ; and Dr. Dyson, of the Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta. Good old Mr. Venn was still secretary. Dr. Kay was then fresh from the learned retreat of Bishops' College on the Hooghly. General Lake represented the Christian soldier-politicians of the school of the Lawrences. The Maharaja Dhuleep Singh was there to join in supplications for the college to be founded for the training of his countrymen to be evangelists, pastors and teachers, in the land of which he was born to be king. Bishop Smith, of China, who presided, closed the proceedings in words like these : "We have been greatly favoured this day with the presence of so many veterans of the missionary work to say farewell to our brethren, and we have been delighted with the heart-stirring address and missionary fire of the 'old man eloquent.' The last time Dr. Duff and I met together was when he bowed the knee with me in my private study at Hong Kong, and offered prayer for us, for we also need sustaining grace as well as our brethren. Here I find him to-day giving us words of encouragement. Advanced as he is on the stage of life, it is an unexpected pleasure to see him again ; and we thank God that we have been permitted to listen to him. It is a blessing to meet on occasions such as these, to find that the old missionary fire is not extinct, and to know that

the good work is prospering. May it go on until the whole earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord."

Dr. Duff, in an impromptu utterance, had thus burst forth under the impulse of fervid affection and of gratitude that not the young and untried but the ablest ministers in England were going up to the high places of the field :

"The communion of saints is a blessed and glorious expression. Ever since I have known Christ, and believed in Christ for salvation, I have always felt that there is a tie peculiarly binding on the Church of Christ, whatever may be the form of government. Accordingly, I have always felt it an unspeakable privilege to be permitted not only to sympathise, but to co-operate in every possible way, with all who love Christ in sincerity and in truth, and will be co-heirs with Him in the glory to be revealed, and rejoice with Him for ever and ever. I cannot understand the grounds of separation between men who are living in the bonds of Christ. . . We do not stand alone. If we did, we should be hopeless. We stand very much in the position of Elijah on Mount Carmel. He stood alone in one sense: he was confronted with four hundred and fifty priests of Baal; but he felt that he was not alone—that he had one greater and mightier than all that were against him, and his great prayer was to the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, that He might interpose and cause it to be seen and felt that there was a God in Israel, that he was His servant to do these things according to His word. He said, 'Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that Thou art the Lord.' That is our position. We must do all that he did. He prepared the altar and the sacrifice, and said, 'I have done all that I can; but if I had not done this, how could I look up and pray? Having done that in accordance with God's word, I can look up and pray.' Let us, then, enter on the mighty work in this spirit, and while we confront the Himalayan masses of superstition and idolatry, let us first, the spirit of Elijah animating us, look up and say, 'O God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.' Yes,

we as Christians can do still more. We can say, ‘O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus, do Thou interpose in behalf of that great name, and send forth Thy Holy Spirit to accompany our efforts in this work;’ and the day will come when the fire shall descend and burn up the wood and the stones, and the mountain masses of obstacles, and consume them, and turn spiritual death into life. Yes, the day will come. But are we doing our part? are we doing all that we can? The individual missionary abroad may be doing all that he can as a missionary; but are the communities that send him forth ‘doing all that they ought to do?’ If not, I feel intensely you have no warrant, no right to pray for the blessing of God. From what I am constantly reading in my own country, I see that we are making a mere mock in regard to Missions; that we are simply playing at Missions, and are not doing the proper thing at all in this great country. If we go to war against a great city like Sebastopol—if we want to penetrate into the centre of Abyssinia—what do we do? We take the best and most skilful and experienced of our brave generals, and our best officers and troops, and we send supplies in such abundance that there can be no want. If we wish to be successful we must use the means which are adapted to secure success. Now I feel intensely that I am humbled, that we as a people, as Churches and communities, are content with doing just a little, as showing some recognition of a duty, but not putting forth our power and energy, as if we were in earnest, and sending out the ablest and most skilful of our men. We are but trifling with the whole subject. The world is to be evangelized. We have eight hundred millions of people to be evangelized. Here, in Great Britain, we have one minister for every thousand of inhabitants, and yet we are content to send out one for two millions of people, and in China I do not suppose there is one for three millions, taking all the societies together. Would we desire to know what we ought to do? Let us look to the Church at Antioch. When God had a great work to do among the Gentiles, what did He do? Here is the Church at Antioch, with Barnabas and Simeon, Lucius of Cyrene, and other men of character, but not equal to Paul and Barnabas. Does the Holy Ghost say that Paul and Barnabas, having been the founders of the Church, were indispensable for its prosperity, and you must keep them—Lucius and the

others will not be so much missed : send them to do the work ? No ; He says, ‘ Separate me Barnabas and Paul ; ’ the other men can carry on the quieter work, and fight the battle with heathenism if it be needed ; the most able and skilled men must go forth on the mighty enterprise—‘ Separate me Barnabas and Paul.’ Excuse me for saying this. In this day’s meeting, which gladdens my own heart, I see something of this kind of process beginning. We do not want all the ablest men in this country to engage in the enterprise, but cannot some of them be spared as leaders of the younger ones ? We need all the practical wisdom which the world contains to guide us and direct us in the midst of the perplexities which beset us in such fields as India and China. Difficulties are increasing every day, and there are new difficulties arising that will require all the skill and wisdom of the most practical men we possess, and such men will, ere long, come forward with a power and voice which shall make themselves felt. It makes my heart rejoice to think that Oxford can send forth two of its Fellows ; that English parishes can spare two able and useful men to go forth in the name of the Lord. I see in this the beginning of a better state of things, and I have no doubt that the example will have the effect of stirring up and stimulating others to do likewise, and that some of the mightiest names among us will go forth. It will not do to say we should be satisfied with labourers only ; why should not some of the Church’s dignitaries—why should not some of our bishops, if they be the successors of the apostles, go forth, and set an example, the value of which the whole world would acknowledge ? I wonder that a man who is prominent before the world for his position and rank does not surrender that, and go forth on a mission of philanthropy. I wonder at it. Some would be ready to follow. But at all events they would say, Here is sincerity, here is devotedness ; and it will no longer be said, ‘ You are the men who are paid for loving the souls of men.’ I will not speak merely of Church dignitaries, but of other dignitaries. Peers of the realm can go to India to hunt tigers, and why cannot they go to save the souls of men ? Have we come to this, that it shall be beneath them, and beneath the dignity of men in civil life, to go forth on such an errand ? The eternal Son of God appears on earth that He may work out for us an everlasting redemption. It was not

beneath Him to seek and to save that which was lost, and will you tell me that it is beneath the dignity of a duke, or an Archbishop of Canterbury, to go into heathen realms to save a lost creature?"

This recalled the Exeter Hall appeals of 1837. Again, soon after, he gave another proof of his true catholicity in writing, for the *Indian Female Evangelist*, conducted by the Church of England Society for Female Education in the East, an elaborate series of papers on Indian Womanhood from the Vedic age to the present time.

Dr. Duff's philanthropic and spiritual efforts for the good of Europeans and Eurasians in India, continued from his first years in Calcutta, found an organized and permanent agency in the Anglo-Indian Christian Union, or Evangelization Society as it is now called. When in Calcutta he had been the active chairman of a society for ameliorating the temporal condition of the people, he had so early as 1841 helped to found a temperance society, he frequently lectured to the soldiers at Dum Dum and elsewhere on the subject, and he was most earnest in that movement for a sailors' home which ended in Lord Lawrence presenting the valuable site of the appropriate building on the Strand of Calcutta. Just before his return to Edinburgh in 1864, the Anglo-Indians who happened to be present at the General Assembly of that year, led by Dr. K. MacQueen, united to send out a minister to the Scottish teaplanters who are turning the malarious wilds of Cachar and Assam into smiling gardens. The society was discouraged by the unfitness of the first instruments, but in 1870 Dr. Duff gave it new life. The increase of tea and indigo cultivation, of cotton and jute factories, of railways, of the British army and subordinate civil service, had, since the Mutiny, raised the European and Eurasian Chris-

tians in India to a number little short of the quarter of a million. For these the Government chaplains and the few voluntary churches in the great cities and missionary services elsewhere had long been inadequate. The £170,000 spent on the ecclesiastical establishment of 3 bishops and 153 chaplains, and in grants to Romish priests who are generally foreign Jesuits ignorant of the language of the Irish soldiers, might have been—ought now to be—applied in a manner both more equitable and more effective for its end in a country where vast revenues are annually alienated in support of Hindoo shrines and Muhammadan mosques. As it is there are British regiments without spiritual services, while chaplains are congested in the great cities for the benefit of wealthy congregations who are able and willing to supply themselves. The Church of England, led by good Bishop Wilson, had created an Additional Clergy Society which supplied ministers to destitute military and civil stations aided by state grants. In Madras the Colonial and Continental Church Society tried to fill the breach. But after the sudden removal by death of Dr. Cotton, who was like Duff himself the bishop of good men of every Church, not only the ecclesiastical establishment but the aided societies became the instruments of the weakest form of Anglican sacerdotalism. The sacramentarianism of the bishops and chaplains sent out by successive Secretaries of State was not atoned for by grace like Keble's, or learning like Dr. Pusey's, or wit like Bishop Wilberforce's. Gradually in many places officers forsook the Church of England services, while the earnest soldiers among the troops marched to church murmured at the wrong done to the conscience. Many of the evangelical members of all the churches united in demanding reform.

In 1869, after the five years' administration of Lord

Lawrence, this took the form at Simla of a Union Church based on the reformed confession, which Dr. M. Mitchell organized. Next year Dr. Duff, as president of the Anglo-Indian Christian Union, selected the Rev. John Fordyce and sent him out as commissioner to report on the spiritual needs of the British and Eurasian settlers all over Northern India. Mr. Fordyce, after practically carrying out the zanana system in Calcutta, had returned to become minister first in Dunse and then in Cardiff. On reaching India he became pastor of the new Union Church at Simla during the hot and rainy seasons, and devoted the other half of each year to a visitation of the whole land from Peshawur to Calcutta. The railway companies, which had ten thousand Christian employés uncared for spiritually, welcomed his services. Wherever he went officers and soldiers sought his return, or at least the establishment of some permanent evangelical agency among them. The letters from such among Dr. Duff's papers are full of a pathetic significance. The new society gradually worked out a catholic organization. The districts of country—omitting, it is to be regretted, the tea provinces of North-eastern Bengal, where scattered communities of Christians are settled—were mapped out into seven circuits, each with a radius of from 200 to 300 miles, easily accessible by railway. While Dr. Duff, as president worked the whole from Edinburgh, Lord Lawrence, as patron, was active in London. To Mr. Fordyce the great and good Viceroy thus wrote on the 24th June, 1874.

“ I feel the full force of much which you have said as to the state of things in India, of the want all over the land of adequate religious influences. It is only too true that ‘ a famine of the word of life affects most fatally the native population, and imperils many of our fellow-countrymen.’ Hence, as you say, there is a

double plea for more Christian work in India. I also fully concur in your remarks on the evil effects of the conduct of some of those who, while bearing the Christian name, have little regard for the precepts of that religion. All this is very sad; but it is very difficult to bring to bear a practical remedy. Still, we must not despair. The difficulties which beset the subject should rather incite us to bestir ourselves and devise a remedy. The united efforts of Protestants of all Churches in the good work offer the best hope of success.. We want men, and we want money, and above all we want some person of ability and zeal, and of some social influence, to take the lead and guide the helm, and so by continuous and systematic labour bring about the results which we so much desire."

In addition to the formation of union congregations Dr. Duff in the last year of his life saw ten agents of the society at work in India, six of them ordained ministers, and sent out Dr. Somerville, of Glasgow, and the Rev. C. M. Pym, rector of Cherry Burton, to evangelize in the cold seasons of 1874 and 1877, as Dr. Norman Macleod had done in 1867. Financially as well as ecclesiastically the Government of India may yet be allowed to carry out the scheme which Lord Mayo's Government approved of in principle, that of so applying the present expenditure of £170,000 to purely military chaplains and in grants to Christian societies, that it may cover the whole extent of Anglo-Indian society, official and non-official.

But India was the source of only half the cares and the labours of Dr. Duff after he left it. As convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of his Church, he established a new mission in the Lebanon, and three new missions in South-east Africa—in then independent Kaffraria, in Natal, and on Lake Nyassa; while

he lived long enough to receive charge of the New Hebrides stations of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

The Church of Scotland in 1839 sent a missionary expedition to Palestine, consisting of M'Cheyne and Drs. Black, Keith and A. Bonar, which ended in the establishment for a time, by Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, of a mission to the Jews in Damascus. When, in 1852, Mr. William Dickson, editor of the *Children's Missionary Record*, visited Syria, Dr. Duff gave him a letter of commendation, and the result was the formation of a catholic committee in Scotland for the founding of schools among the Druses, Maronites, and Greek Christians of the Lebanon. In 1870, accompanied by Dr. Lumsden, principal of the New College, Aberdeen, Dr. Duff made a second tour in Syria to examine the schools. The district which they traversed from Beyrouth, where they landed on the 11th April, stretches from the "entrance of Hamath" on the north to Tyre on the south-west and Damascus on the south-east, embracing not only the range of Lebanon itself, with the country immediately to the south, but also Anti-Lebanon, and the far-reaching plain of Cœle-Syria. This region is in extent about 100 miles by 30, and contains upwards of one thousand villages and hamlets, with a population of half a million. The deputies held a conference with the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Board, under whom not only a great college and many schools, but the Syrian Evangelical Church has been fostered into vigorous life. These brethren agreed that if the Free Church sent to the mountain an ordained minister, who should be a well-qualified educationist, they would cordially co-operate with him, "on the understanding that he do not institute a separate ecclesiastical organization, or interfere with the doctrine or discipline of the existing native Evangelical Church," an under-

standing in the wisdom of which Dr. Duff thoroughly concurred, being with them desirous that the various congregations of converts be united in one native Syrian Protestant Church.

An ordained and a medical missionary have accordingly ever since evangelized the Meten district of Lebanon, from the centre first of Sook, and now of Schweir, encouraged, like the many missionaries in that comparatively small territory, by the administration of the Christian Rustem Pasha, under the constitution secured for that portion of the unhappy Turkish empire by Lord Dufferin after the massacres of 1860. The formation of the first congregation has raised the question of the relation of the new mission to the American, and that will doubtless be amicably settled according to the catholic principle laid down by Dr. Duff in 1870.

Having consolidated the Kaffrarian Mission, on his return from South Africa in 1864 Dr. Duff saw it extended to the north across the Kei. There the centre of the Idutywa Kaffir reserve, up to the Bashee River, formed in 1874, was called by his name, Duffbank. Three years later the Fingoes, through Captain Blyth and Mr. Brownlee, officials, contributed £1,500 to found an evangelizing and industrial Institute after the model of Lovedale, and to that was given the name of Blythswood. With the station of Cunningham completing the base, where there is a native congregation of more than two thousand Kaffirs, the Transkei territory is thus being worked, in a missionary sense, up towards Natal. There the fruit of the great missionary's influence is seen in three mission centres, at the capital Pieter-Maritzburg ; at Impolweni, fourteen miles to the north ; and at Gordon, within a few miles of the frontier of Zululand, now divided among thirteen feudatory chiefs advised and controlled by two British residents on the Indian political system. Natal was taken pos-

session of, for the highest civilizing ends, by the missionaries of the American Board so early as 1835, in the midst of the Kaffir war of that year, and when Dingane ruled the Zulus. His massacre of the Boers drove out the missionaries till the British Government took possession of the country. That was in 1843, at the time when an old correspondent of Dr. Duff's was Governor of South Africa. Sir Peregrine Maitland had resigned the well-paid office of commander-in-chief of the Madras army rather than pass on an order compelling British officers and troops to salute Hindoo idols on festival days. Worthy to be a friend of Duff, he told the American, Grout, who was to work for ten years without making one convert from the Zulus, that he had more faith in missionaries than in soldiers for preventing war with barbarous tribes.

When, long after, Dr. Duff in his wagon descended from the uplands of Basutoland and the heights of the Drakenberg upon the picturesque valleys and smiling plains of Natal, his heart was taken captive by Mr. James Allison, the highly educated son of a Peninsular officer. Allison was well advanced in years when he gave himself to the work of the Master. Commissioned by the Wesleyans, he broke new ground among the Griquas in 1832, and he went on pioneering till Duff found him settling his many converts, as an independent missionary, in the village of Edendale, which he created for them, while they paid the whole purchase-money by petty instalments. In 1873 Duff sent him to organize a similar settlement at Impolweni, and there he died a few years after at the ripe age of seventy-three. It was a noble life, and yet not more noble than that of the majority of Christian pioneers in all our colonies, as well as in India, China, and the islands of the seas. His work at Maritzburg also was taken over by the Free Church of Scotland.

When, in November, 1864, Dr. Duff went north to take part in the ordination of new missionaries, the first to welcome him to Haddo House was the Dowager Countess of Aberdeen. Eight months before, the fifth earl, her husband, to whom, while yet Lord Haddo, his companionship had been sweet at Malvern, had been called to his rest after years of incessant labour for the spiritual and temporal good of all around him in London, Greenwich, on his own estates, and in Egypt, where he sought and found prolonged life. The Malvern intercourse resulted in a friendly identification of Dr. Duff with the Aberdeen family in all its branches, very beautiful on both sides, and fruitful in spiritual results not only to him and to them, but, we believe, to the Zulu people. The letters that passed between the missionary and the Dowager Countess and her family are fragrant with the spirit of St. John's epistles to Kyria and Gaius. In this chapter we have to do with them only in so far as they throw light on the origin of the Gordon Memorial Mission. Some dim glimpses of the exquisitely delicate relation between them may be seen by those who can read between the lines, in the "Sketches of the Life and Character of Lord Haddo, fifth Earl of Aberdeen, and of his Son, the Hon. J. H. H. Gordon,"* which Dr. Duff published in 1868, under the principal title of *The True Nobility*.

James Henry Hamilton Gordon, the second son of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen, won all hearts at school and at college by his fine courage, his pure life, his personal beauty and the manly unconsciousness in which his character was set. At eighteen, in the year 1863, he became a zealous Christian like his father. "Last New Year's Eve," he wrote to a friend, "I went

* Published by the Religious Tract Society, in which Dr. Duff showed a keen interest.

to bed with scarcely a thought about my soul; but the very next day, by the grace of God, I was brought to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. Yes, the birthday of the year is the birthday of my soul." First at St. Andrews, where Principal Shairp was drawn to him, and then in the larger world of Cambridge, he became the Lycidas of his fellows. The joy in the Holy Ghost made him the happiest among them. In 1867 he came out the second man in all the University. . The youth whom every Sunday evening found in the Jesus' Lane school, and whose face was familiar at the University daily prayer-meeting, was also among the first in athletic sports, in sketching, in verse-writing, and in the debating society. He was captain of the University eight, and rowed No. 4 in the contest with Oxford. His inventive ambition showed itself in the construction of a breech-loader, which was to "beat all other possible breech-loaders in the rapidity of its fire." Mr. Macgregor's experiences sent him, in the long vacation, canoeing from Dover through France to Genoa, and back through Germany to Rotterdam. On his return, after an hour on the Cam, he went to his room to dress for dinner, when that happened on the 12th February, 1868, which Dr. Duff thus records: While he was engaged with his rifle, it went off, causing almost immediate death. The next day he was to have rowed in the inter-university race. Instead of that both Oxford and Cambridge put the flags at the boat-houses half-mast high, and not a man was seen on either river. He whom an accident had thus suddenly removed had not long before written to a fellow-student who feared that to profess Christ would be to invite the taunt of being a hypocrite: "It is a happy thing to serve the Lord. Though we sometimes have to give up pleasure, we gain a great deal of happiness even in this world.

Paul suffered a great many persecutions, yet he said, 'Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I say, Rejoice.' "

Young Gordon had felt another ambition. When only fourteen he declared he would be a missionary. When nineteen he repeated his determination, saying to his brother, who had returned from New Brunswick as sixth earl, and was telling him of the winter life of the lumberers in its forests: "What could be more delightful than to go from camp to camp, Bible in hand, and share the life of those fine fellows, while trying to win them to Christ!" But he added, with characteristic self-suspicion, that his love of adventure might have much to do with the desire. As time went on, however, he thought of studying for the ministry with this end. When, at the close of 1864, the Cape Government were offering for sale grants of land in Transkei Kaffraria, he leaped at the suggestion that when he came of age he might settle down as an ordained captain of civilization on a Kaffir reserve. "I shall endeavour to follow the leading of my conscience and the guidance of God in making my decision on this matter," was the entry in his private diary. Truly, as Dr. Duff wrote, what might not such a Christian athlete, "the grandson of the great chief who once wielded the destinies of the British empire," have become among a people of noble impulses and self-forgetting courage like the Kaffirs? What sudden death prevented him from doing, his sorrowing family enabled Dr. Duff to begin as a sacred duty. His elder brother, the sixth earl, having sought health in a warm climate and to gratify his love of adventure, was accidentally drowned on a voyage from Boston to Melbourne, as first mate of the ship *Hero*. The third and only surviving brother succeeded to the peerage in 1870. Accordingly there was drawn up a deed, unique in the history of Missions, since the Haldanes sold their

estates the preamble of which tells, formally but touchingly, its own story.*

The Rev. J. Dalzell, M.B. a medical missionary and his wife, the daughter of Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow, were sent out to select a site; a teacher and two artisans followed, and by 1874 the Gordon Memorial Mission was established within a few miles of the frontier of Zululand. This letter may be here given, referring to the career of him whose truly chief-like character will surely yet become a stimulus to the thirteen feudatories of Zululand and the people.

“SCARBOROUGH, 9th Sept., 1868.

“DEAR LADY ABERDEEN,—Your letter, dated the 5th, I have read with a feeling of profound and thrilling interest. Lord Polwarth very kindly favoured me

* We, the Right Honourable Mary, Countess of Aberdeen; George, Earl of Aberdeen; Mary Lady Polwarth; Walter Lord Polwarth; the Honourable John Campbell Gordon; the Lady Harriet Gordon; and the Lady Catherine Elizabeth Gordon; considering that we are desirous of founding a mission to the heathen in South Africa in memory of a beloved member of our family, the Honourable James Henry Gordon, who died on the twelfth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, and for this purpose have resolved to set apart a sum of money, the interest of which will be sufficient to yield the salary of an ordained missionary and to defray other expenses, also to provide the funds required to build a suitable house for the residence of such missionary, and considering that it will be most advantageous that such mission and missionary should be in connection with and under the responsible management of an existing mission by a Christian Church, and that the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland have had for many years a mission to the natives in Kaffraria, and are proposing to extend it by erecting one or more stations in the territory to the north and east of the river Kei: therefore we have paid to the Rev Alexander Duff, Doctor of Divinity, for behoof of the said Foreign Missions Committee, should they accept of this present trust, the sum of six thousand pounds, to be by them permanently invested according to their rules and practice, and we now hereby declare that the said sum is to be held in trust always for the purposes and subject to the conditions following; viz., First, The Memorial Mission Station shall be in the Transkei territory, or some part of Kaffraria, and shall be named “Gordon,” &c., etc.

with the leading facts in the life of the dear departed one. He has also favoured me with the narrative of the *Canoe Voyage*, than which I scarcely remember having ever read anything more stirring. It reached me on the evening of a day. I at once opened it, to take a dip into it, intending to reserve the more careful perusal of it till the next day. But it soon so riveted me that I could not stop till I got to the very close. When done with it, I felt, well, had it pleased the Lord to spare his life, and send him to Kaffirland, with such athletic powers and fertility of resource, the Kaffirs would be impelled to make him their king, while he would bring them to the King of kings ! But, to the Omniscient, it appeared good to ordain it otherwise. But it makes one feel all the more strongly that there is a singular appropriateness in the blessed mode which has been fixed on for perpetuating his memory here below."

When, in May, 1856, Dr. Livingstone completed the second of his expeditions from the Cape to St. Paul de Loanda, on the west coast of Africa, and thence right across the continent to the Quilimane approach to the Zambesi, he used this language : " We ought to encourage the Africans to cultivate for our markets, as the most effectual means, next to the gospel, of their elevation. It is in the hope of working out this idea that I propose the formation of stations on the Zam-besi beyond the Portuguese territory, but having communication through it with the coast. The London Missionary Society has resolved to have a station among the Makololo, on the north bank, and another on the south among the Matabelé. The Church, Wesleyan, Baptist, and that most energetic body, the Free Church, could each find desirable locations." The Universities Mission, which he induced Oxford and Cambridge to send out, met with such losses, while

he himself buried his wife a hundred miles up the Zambezi from the sea, that the other Churches delayed action. But the Rev. Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale, when he had hardly ceased to be a divinity student, was encouraged by some Scottish friends to join Dr. Livingstone in his next expedition. On the 16th September, 1859, the great Christian explorer revealed the waters of Lake Nyassa for the first time to Europe and America. There, 1,522 feet above the sea, the overjoyed missionary beheld the fresh-water sea stretching, as it proved, 350 miles to the north, towards Tanganyika, the two Nyanzas and the Nile, with an average breadth of twenty-six miles, and a depth of more than one hundred fathoms. A second time, in 1861, he returned to its southern end, with his brother and Dr. Kirk, only to have his conviction strengthened that here was the centre whence the great Light should shine forth upon the peoples of Central Africa. Filled with this thought he addressed these letters to the successive convenors of the Free Church Foreign Missions Committee in Edinburgh, before Dr. Duff's return from India and from his tour of inspection in South Africa.

"RIVER SHIRE, 2nd Nov., 1861.

(Private.) "MY DEAR DR. TWEEDIE,—On returning from the Rovuma I had nothing to say about it as a new missionary field, and therefore no heart to write at all. I indulged the hope also that information such as you desire might soon be obtained by looking down that river from Lake Nyassa, from the attempt to do which we are now returning. We left the *Pioneer* in August last, and in three weeks carried a boat past Murchison's cataracts. When we embarked on the Upper Shiré we were virtually on the lake, though still about sixty miles from Nyassa, as that part of the river is all smooth and deep. The lake proper is over 200 miles in length, from twenty to sixty miles wide, and very deep. It lies on one meridian of longitude, and gives

access to a very large tract of slave-producing country. Our mission has a special reference to this gigantic evil; but without the co-operation of such missions as your Church contemplates ours must prove a failure. You must then take it for granted that my information may be tinged by my great anxiety for the establishment of Christian Missions, and endeavour to form a calm and dispassionate judgment for yourself.

" We entered Lake Nyassa in the beginning of September and during the prevalence of the equinoctial gales. We believe that we felt bottom in one of the bays in the north at 600 feet. As in all narrow deep seas surrounded by mountains, tremendous seas get up in about twenty minutes. In many gales we witnessed no open boat could live. We were obliged to beach our boat every night, and sometimes sat for days together waiting for the storm to cease; on this account we could not accomplish all we intended in the way of exploration. We followed the western shore, and received nothing but the most contradictory reports about Rovuma. One asserted that we could sail out of the lake into the river; another, that we must lift the boat a few yards; another, fifty miles or a month. We durst not cross the frequently raging sea to ascertain for ourselves. There was a thick haze in the air all around, and it was only by sketches and bearings as the sun rose behind mountains that we were enabled at different latitudes to measure the width. Our information is therefore unsatisfactory. But leaving the physical geography till we get more light, we turn to the population. That is prodigious: no part of Africa I have seen so teems with people as the shores of Lake Nyassa. This may have been the fishing season, for all were engaged in catching fish with nets, creels, hooks or poison; when the rains call them off to agriculture they may be much fewer in number. In some cases disturbances in their own countries had caused an influx of population to these sea-coasts. As we saw them their numbers excited our constant wonder, and we appeared to be great curiosities to them. They were upon the whole civil, and seldom went the length of lifting up the edge of the sail which we used as a tent, as boys do to see the beasts of a travelling menagerie; no fines were levied nor dues demanded. When about half-way up the lake an Arab dhow lately built fled away to the eastern shore

when we came near ; she did the same on our return south : their trade is in slaves. When we came within the sphere of this vessel's operation the people became worse. They crept up to our sleeping places at that hour of the morning when deep sleep falleth upon man, and ran off with what they could lay their hands on. It was the first time we had been robbed in Africa. We had a few Makololo with us who had been reared among the black races and imbibed all their vices; their cowardly and bad conduct increased any difficulty we had. The slave traders seem to have purchased all the food, and when we got beyond their beat we came to the borders of a tribe of Zulus, called Mavité, from the south ; and this presented a scene of great desolation, nothing was to be seen but human skeletons or putrid bodies of the slain. We had a land party in case of any accident to the boat. They were terrified at the idea of meeting the inflicters of the terrible vengeance of which the evidence everywhere met the eye, without a European in their company ; so I left the boat, and by some mistake was separated from it for three and a quarter days. We met seven Mavité or Zulus, and when I went to them unarmed, they were as much frightened of me as the men were of them. They rattled their spears on their shields, and seeing that had no effect, refused to take me either to the boat or to their chief, and then sped up the hills as we may suppose seven Scotch *gomers* would do after they had seen a ghost. Want of food compelled us to turn after ascertaining that the lake reaches the southern borders of the tenth degree of south latitude.

" We found a chief called Marenga about $11^{\circ} 44' S.$, a very fine fellow. He laded us with all the different kinds of food he possessed. He seemed an eligible man for missionaries to settle with, but very probably there are fine situations and people on the adjacent highlands which we could not explore. Nyassa is surrounded with mountains and elevated plateaux like that on which Bishop Mackenzie is located. Now we have already a pathway to the lake with but thirty-five or forty miles of land carriage. We have had no difficulties with the Portuguese as yet. When we took Bishop Mackenzie up to the highlands east of the cataracts, we discovered that the Portuguese had instituted an extensive system of slave-hunting in the very country to which we had brought him. They had induced a marauding party of Ajawa to attack village after

village of Manganja, kill the men and sell the women and children to them. The first party we met had eighty-four captives. The adventurers fled and left the whole on my hand, so I gave them over to the Bishop to begin school with ; other Portuguese companies were found, and about one hundred and forty handed over to the Bishop's mission. Unfortunately the Manganja are as ready to sell people as the Ajawa, but at this time the Manganja were all fleeing before the employés of the Portuguese. Believing that the effusion of blood might be stopped, and also the slaving, as they received but five yards of calico for the best captives—value out here, two shillings and sixpence—and only a shilling's worth for a woman, we went to hold a parley with the Ajawa. We came upon them in a moment of victory : they were in the act of burning three villages, and some Manganja followers spoiled all our protestations of peace by calling out that one of their great generals and sorcerers had come. They rushed on us like furies, poured poisoned arrows among our small company at fifty paces distance from every point, and compelled us to act in the defensive. The Portuguese are at the bottom of the whole affair, and they seem to gather new vigour in their inveterate slaving by following in our footsteps. Had we been all cut off, the loss of mission and expedition would have been entirely attributable to them. I was unarmed, and the men had but a few rounds of ammunition when this slave trade episode occurred.

" With regard to Government protection, none would be promised. Every member of the Government would individually be glad to hear of the extension of Christianity, and it would gratify them to find that officers, without detriment to their own service, had assisted missionaries ; but as a Government they could not come under any formal obligation to protect British subjects in distant and uncivilized countries. This is my private opinion only. The Bishop here is not, so far as I can learn, a recognised dignitary in the eyes of the Government. I render every assistance I can, and would do the same to the missionaries of any other body, but I have no orders so to do. Some instructions in favour of giving the Bishop's party a passage were, I believe, sent to the Admiral ; but you could not depend on the same unless Lord Panmure were in office again. A mission to be effective must have a steamer of its own, and made capable of being unscrewed at

the bottom of the cataracts and carried past them in Scotch carts. This would be the least arduous part of the undertaking. Don't imagine that a mission right in the slave market will allow much sailing about your studies in flowing dressing gowns and slippers. A great difficulty is the different way in which missionaries look at the work when at home and when they come actually to soil their hands. You could manage all about the steamer with ease ; some of your own people would do the thing better than any government contractor. The Burnses of Glasgow, younger and elder, offered to do anything in their line for me : I hereby make over all my interest in their offer, and I am sure they meant what they said.

The Bishop has the best place in the country for a mission—cool, airy and abounding in flowing streams of deliciously cool water. At one time I feared that another mission might be deemed an intrusion, as time has not yet diluted the home prejudices ; but any one seeing the prodigious population on the lake must confess that there is more work there than can be reached by one body of Christians, however powerful or wealthy. Very likely as soon as we get our little steamer on the lake we shall be able to speak more positively about a healthy residence. At present the slave trade meets us everywhere ; the people are clothed with the inner bark of trees, and calico is so valuable that it decides the only trade now in existence. We hope to alter this by buying their cotton, but the most effectual means of eradicating the trade entirely is the introduction of Christianity.

"(Private and confidential.) The country between Cape Delgado and Delagon Bay was committed to the Portuguese by the slave-trade treaties on the understanding that they would put down slave-trading therein. Instead of this they have uniformly acted on the principle of converting the territory aforesaid into a private slave 'preserve.' Their claims of sovereignty rest on the treaty which they have so shamefully misread. The governorships, with a mere nominal salary, are the rewards which the court of Lisbon distributes to its favourites. Hence the King of Portugal must know that he directly perpetuates slavery and slave-trading by making the emoluments arising therefrom the chief part of the dole which he deals out. They have no more right to keep out other nations from lawful commerce than England has to keep traders out of

China. Each nation possesses a few forts on the coast of a continent. Yet a ship was seized belonging to Mr. Sunley, H.M. Consul at the Comoro Islands, and sold by the Portuguese because he attempted to establish lawful trade in the Angoshe River where a Portuguese dare not enter. I mention these things in the hope that some of your friends of the public press may take notice of them and render aid in opening the country. The Bishop informs me that when Prince Albert was applied to in order to lend his name as 'Patron' of the Oxford and Cambridge Mission he declined, on the ground that 'Dr. Livingstone's expedition might compromise the rights of the Portuguese crown.' It is understood that he is the chief stickler for the Portuguese pretensions, and unless powerful public opinion be brought to bear on the Government, these pretensions will be urged as successfully as they were in the case of Mr. Sunley's ship and the trading station Amberiz on the West Coast. Believe me, affectionately yours,

" DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

" Nov. 18th.—Since writing the foregoing we have seen the Bishop, and find that, disregarding my advice to keep to his own place and act simply on the defensive, he has been induced to go and attack the Ajawa twice. I hoped that the Ajawa might become friends with the English after they understood the objects of our coming, when they refused all negotiation and attacked us, but this will make them, I fear, enemies of the English. In speaking of the view that would be entertained of this at home, the Bishop and I have totally different anticipations. It is probable that his views and those of a rather hot-headed missionary who figured at Bryan King's, in St. George's in the East, will be given in a high church paper called the *Guardian*. Your young friend will think our horizon rather cloudy, but it is well if he understands the whole of our affairs though written in a way that will not bear publication. I shall be thankful if you favour me with the judgment you have formed.

" March 1st, 1862.—We have no daily post here. I have shown this to Mr. Stewart who is now with us; and I would add that my remarks are framed to meet the eyes of the ordinary run of missionaries, and perhaps to screen myself from blame if such men should come out; but for such as a man as Mr.

Stewart I would say there are no very serious obstacles in the way. I would not hesitate to commence a mission myself, but Mr. Stewart, will give you his own impressions when he has seen all with his own eyes. If you get many of as long tangled epistles as this from the mission field I pity you.

" DAVID LIVINGSTONE."

" SHUPANGA, ZAMBESI, 12th March, 1862.

" REV. DR. CANDLISH.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I am happy to inform you that Mr. Stewart arrived off the mouth of this river on the last day of January, and as it appeared that the most satisfactory way of going to work would be for him to come and see the country and people with his own eyes, I invited him to accompany us while trying to take a steamer up to Lake Nyassa. By the kind assistance of Captain Wilson, of H.M.S. *Gorgon*, we soon had most of the hull aboard the *Pioneer*, but soon found out that she could not carry thirty-five tons of her sister, so we are forced to put the lake steamer together here, and then tow her up to the cataract. We did not anticipate this detention of two months. Mr. Stewart will however be employed in picking up what he can of the language, and supposing him to be successful in his noble purpose of organizing a mission, this will prove no loss of time. The language is unreduced, and if you have never tried to write down the gibberish that seems to be blurted out of the people's mouths, you will scarcely believe that the reduction of a language is such a gigantic task as it is. The tongue is spoken at Senna and Tette on the Zambesi, and up to the end of Lake Nyassa, 400 miles to the north. The Bishop Mackenzie is working at it, but years must elapse before it can become a proper or copious vehicle of religious thought.

" I have given Mr. Stewart a cordial and hearty welcome, and rejoice in the prospect of another mission where there is so very much room for work. Nineteen thousand slaves pass annually through the custom-house of Zanzibar, and according to Colonel Rigby, H.M. Consul there, the chief portion of them comes from Lake Nyassa. We hope to do something towards stopping this traffic, but it is only by Christian missions and example that the evil can be thoroughly rooted out. From all I have observed of Mr. Stewart he seems to have been specially raised up for the work, and specially well adapted for it. Be-

fore becoming acquainted with him I spoke cautiously, perhaps gave too much prominence to difficulties of which I myself make small account, and may have been led to it by having seen missionaries come out with curious notions, willing to endure hardships, but grumbling like mountains in labour when put about by things that they did not expect ; but to such a man I would say boldly, Go forward, and with the Divine blessing you will surely succeed. I am, etc.,

“ DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

“ Though I had not the pleasure of meeting you at Dr. Buchanan’s I met your daughters there, and beg to present kind salutations.

“ 15th March.—The Bishop Mackenzie and Rev. H. Burrup died in January and February. Came down to meet us in a canoe which was overturned, clothes and medicines lost ; fever and diarrhoea proved fatal—a sad blow ; but whatever effect it may have at home, not one hair’s-breadth will I swerve from my work.”

Dr. Stewart returned to Scotland to urge the proposal that his Church should found a mission settlement on Cape Maclear, the promontory at the south end of the lake to be called by Livingstone’s name. Dr. Livingstone himself, during his two subsequent visits to Bombay, took Dr. Wilson, the Free Church missionary there, into his counsels, and the public of Western India supplied him with funds for the last expedition. His death, in April, 1873, on his knees in prayer amid the swamps of Ilala, gave to the Free Church a new motive for at once carrying out the trust which he laid upon it. Dr. Duff had sent out Dr. Stewart to Lovedale, after the disasters of the Universities Mission, to be ready from that base to advance to Nyassa. Sir Bartle Frere had returned from his mission to the slave-trading Muhammadan powers along the littoral of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, which Dr. Kirk’s treaty with

the Sultan of Zanzibar happily completed, leaving the worst offenders, Turkey and Egypt, alone to be dealt with directly by the Foreign Office. After conferences with him in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1874 Dr. Duff and James Stevenson, Esq., of Glasgow, launched the Livingstonia Mission, the greatest national enterprise, it has been truly said, since Scotland sent forth the very different Darien expedition. In the new responsibilities and burdens which this added to the last five years of his life, he was assisted by Dr. M. Mitchell, as the official secretary of the committee.

All the churches and cities of Scotland, but especially the Reformed and United Presbyterian Churches and the merchant princes of Glasgow, gathered round Dr. Duff. At the request of the Established Church co-operating with it in Africa as in India, he gave it the most brotherly facilities for founding a station, called L'ntyre, on the healthy heights just above the Murchison cataracts of the Shiré. In the absence of Dr. Stewart, Mr. Young, R.N., who had satisfactorily led the "Livingstone Search Expedition," was lent by the Admiralty to command that organized to found Livingstonia. The first large party of Scottish missionaries and artisans left the London docks in May, 1875. Dr. Goold tells us how Dr. Duff led the devotions of the departing evangelists with such fervent absorption and earnest supplication, all heedless of the last warning bell, that the steamer was already on its way down the Thames before he could be got on shore. It was on the 12th of October, just eight years after Livingstone's discovery of it, that Nyassa's waters burst on the view of the delighted missionaries, as the sun rose over the high eastern range and bathed in the light that symbolized a better Sun the seven hundred miles of coast then desolated by the slave-trade and demon-worship. Writing of

morning worship that day, the Rev. R. Laws, M.B., now head of the Mission, remarked, "The hundredth psalm seemed to have a new beauty and depth of meaning as its notes floated over the blue waves."

Next year a second party went out with reinforcements under the Rev. Dr. Black, as yet the only and the ever to be lamented victim in this Mission to the climate of tropical Africa. Dr. Stewart took command at the lake, and circumnavigated it for the second time, with the object of finding a sanitarium at its northern end, and completing our geographical knowledge of its coasts and the country which it drains.* Not only at Livingstonia but in Marenga's country on the west coast, and on Kaningina table-land in the interior, hundreds of natives have come under our protection and Christian instruction. Dr. Stewart has assisted in similar good work at Bla
The Chinyanja speech of the western Kaffirs has been reduced to writing, a grammar and vocabulary have been formed, and portions of St. John's Gospel and hymns have been translated into it, being printed by the Kaffir compositors at Lovedale. The machinery has been completed by a medical mission for the women, under Miss Waterston, L.M., with Kaffir subordinates from Lovedale. The Mission has been relieved of the purely commercial concerns by some of its Glasgow founders, who have formed a Central Africa Trading Company, and have made several miles of a road from Kilwa towards the northern end of the lake, towards which the Royal Geographical Society's Expedition also is working. From Lovedale to the Nile, as will be seen in the map, the four missions of the Free Church, the London Society, the Church Society and the Universities have taken possession of

Africa for Christ. On the west the Baptist Society are pushing towards them up the Kongo. Aided by a bequest of a million of dollars the American Board of Missions, which has done much already in Natal, is about to join the noble army from St. Paul de Loanda. Meanwhile, the easiest access to the heart of Africa is by the Free Church route, by the little *Lady Nyassa* up the Zambesi and Shiré to the cataracts, by a road of seventy miles round these, cut by the Livingstone and Blantyre Missions, and by the *Ilala*, a fine sea steamer of forty-horse power, right up to the Rom-bashé, or northern end of Lake Nyassa.² Dr. Duff's official and private correspondence with all concerned, and especially with Dr. Stewart, marks a breadth of Christian statesmanship and administrative foresight which his whole Indian and African experience from 1830 would lead us to expect. Let this heroic sentence suffice, written from Guernsey as his last illness was creeping upon him, to Dr. Stewart on the 25th July, 1877 : "Livingstonia is virtually your own mission, and, humbly speaking, the success of the future will depend much, under God, on the wisdom with which the foundations are now solidly laid. *I wish I could join you for a year*, if it were only to cheer by sympathy and hearty earnestness in seeing the outward prosperity of the work."

Dr. Duff had a keen eye and a reverent regard for "providences," alike in his own life and in the history of the Church and the world. But even he never knew that the last new mission which he was called on to superintend, in the closing years of his life, owed its existence to himself. When the old Cameronians, the venerable Reformed Presbyterian Church, united with the Free Church of Scotland in 1876, it brought under the joint management of the Foreign Missions committee a portion of the Mission in the Melanesian

group of the New Hebrides. When, in 1837, Dr. Duff was addressing the members of the Church of Scotland at Stranraer, he little thought that a Cameronian minister was listening to him whom he was unconsciously stirring up to found that mission to the cannibals of the South Pacific. The Rev. A. M. Symington, of Birkenhead, has lately published this extract from the diary of his father, Dr. William Symington :

October 27th, 1837.—“Had this day the unspeakable satisfaction and delight of hearing Dr. Duff advocate the General Assembly’s scheme for christianizing India. His statements are clear, his reasoning sound, and his eloquence surpassing anything I ever heard. Notwithstanding a weak frame and a bad voice, his appeals are most impassioned and thrilling. He touches the springs of emotion, lays down the path of duty with unceremonious fidelity, and rebukes the apathy and niggardliness of professing Christians with fearless independence. I reckon it a great privilege to have heard and met with this great and good man. May it be blessed for increasing my zeal for the conversion of the heathen.”

January 12th, 1838.—“Being old New Year’s Day, which is foolishly observed as an idle day in this quarter, I called together the youth of the congregation, read some missionary intelligence, and delivered an address on the obligation of Christians to diffuse the gospel among the heathen. Afterwards a juvenile association for missionary purposes was formed. Nearly sixty appended their names, and about £10 was subscribed on the spot. May this be the commencement of a mission to the heathen from the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland.”

The whole group of forty islands, with a population of a hundred thousand, is evangelized by five Presbyterian Churches, whose children maintain a missionary ship, *The Dayspring*, to keep up communication among the stations, and with Sydney as their base fourteen hundred miles to the south-west. Of the twelve missionaries four are sent forth by the Free Church to

Aneityum and Aniwa, now wholly christianized, Iparé and Futuna. In the century that has passed since Captain Cook discovered those parades of the Pacific, even in the half-century since their cannibals murdered John Williams on Eromanga and some of his successors, both Melanesians and Polynesians have been formed into Christian churches so vigorous that Dr. Duff lived long enough to learn how the once cannibal Aneityumese were paying £700 for an edition of the whole Bible in their own language. Thus all through his career, from first to last, his influence overflowed to other Churches, and the fruit returned to himself in a way rarely seen in the kingdom one law of which is thus expressed, "Ye have laboured, and others have entered into your labours."

When, in 1878, the forty-ninth year of the Mission which he had founded and extended closed with his own life, introducing the time of jubilee in the Jewish sense, what did Dr. Duff see? Apart from the missions he had given to the Established Church of Scotland, and the missionaries, European, American and Asiatic he had influenced or trained for other Churches, we may thus coldly sum up results which in all their spiritual consequences and even historical ramifications no mere biographer can attempt to estimate. The one boy-missionary ordained by Chalmers, and sent forth by Inglis, in 1829, is represented by a staff of 115 Scottish and 44 Hindoo, Parsee and Kaffir missionaries in the half-century. Of these nearly half have passed to their eternal rest, leaving at present 38 Scottish and 18 native ministers ordained or licensed to preach the gospel, after a careful literary and theological education, besides five medical missionaries—one a lady—eleven lay professors and evangelists and several students of divinity. The two primary English schools of 1830 at Calcutta and Bombay have become 210

colleges and schools in which, every year, more than 15,000 youths of both sexes receive daily instruction in the Word of God underlying, saturating, consecrating all other knowledge. English has become the common language of hundreds of thousands of the educated natives of India and Africa. But a pure and Christian literature has been created in their many vernaculars and even classical tongues, based on and applying the translated Bible. The Free Church converts alone have numbered 6,458 adults, who, from almost every false creed, impure cult and debasing social system in the East and the South, have sat down in the kingdom, many through much tribulation of which Christendom, as it at present is, has no experience. These with their families have not only created Christian communities which sweep the society around them and are thus used gradually to leaven its whole lump, but they form twenty-eight congregations which, after many members have passed away to their eternal reward, number 3,500 communicants, 4,100 baptized adherents, and 800 catechumens, all under ministers of their own race. In 1878 they subscribed £750 to evangelize their countrymen, though themselves poor after much self-sacrifice. No mission can show so many converts, or nearly so many native missionaries, gathered from the ranks of educated Hindooism and used to break down the mighty mass of Brahmanism, as the India Mission of Dr. Duff, who was ever ready to abase himself while magnifying his office and defending his method. Each reader may judge for himself what share that method has had in all that makes the India of 1878 differ from that of 1829 especially in the significant fact that in that period the Protestant Christians of India have increased from twenty-seven thousand to half a million.

spiritual revival, he had left behind him the pleasant fragrance of those who love to dwell together in unity. In the ardour with which he leaped into the controversy of the Disruption of the Kirk, so soon as the sacrifice became inevitable, and in the co-operating charity with which he continued to assist those who differed from him thereafter, he showed in the most Christian fashion the foresight and the devotion to spiritual principle which, in 1874, the Parliament and the residuary establishment—penitent too late and unjust in practice still—formally recognised. And when, after 1864, he became identified more closely with the home policy and organization of the Free Church, he continued to be the peacemaker between parties, not only for the sake of the one missionary end of his life, but because he felt the danger of allowing his own broader personality and experience to be dragged into controversies from which none emerge unscathed. If the ecclesiastical atmosphere, not in Scotland only but still more elsewhere, seemed confined after the free air and sunshine of his crusades in Asia or Africa, he could at least play his part by letting into it new currents and sometimes electric discharges of light and life.

The time of his final return to Scotland seemed favourable for Church union. Freed from the evil legacies of history the United States had set the world an example of ecclesiastical equality and spiritual freedom. The Scottish Disruption of 1843, following secessions from the Kirk in the previous century, had supplied another national argument and model of the same kind. Speaking as Moderator of the General Assembly of 1843, Dr. Chalmers told these and other nonconformist churches that their congratulations pointed in the first instance to union, and then incorporation as soon as was "possible and prudent." Re-

ferring to the only question which at that early time divided the Free from the seceding Churches—the abstract theory of the endowment of one sect by the State—Dr. Candlish asked if schism was to be kept up by a question as to the duty of another party over whom they had no control. Even Dr. Cunningham returned from America in 1844 of the same mind. So soon as the Free Church had organized itself, in 1863, the Assembly unanimously took the first step towards incorporation with the United Presbyterian Church, itself the result of previous unions. In 1867 Dr. Duff was appointed to a seat in the committee of the leading men of both Churches and all parties in these Churches, who invited him to join them. “I saw Dr. Cairns and Dr. Andrew Thomson, who hail your coming among us with joy and thankfulness,” wrote the convener to him. And none delighted more in the catholic spirit and lofty ideals of Dr. Duff than the fathers of the United Presbyterian Church as the years of negotiation passed on.

Dr. Duff's accession to the ranks of the union divines was considered important for another reason. None who know ecclesiastical history will be surprised that, so early as 1867, the fair prospects of union with the United Presbyterian Church, at least, began to be clouded. Retaining his unique position aloof from parties Dr. Duff yet felt constrained, publicly and privately, to use all the influence of his character and his power of moral suasion in favour of union. To have done otherwise, between two Churches of the same origin, confession, ritual, race, and history, differing in nothing but in a speculative opinion as to an impracticable theocracy but both holding the dogma as to the principle of that theocracy, would have been to prove false to his Master and to his whole life. But he ever used this influence in a way which did not

alienate the anti-unionists, and which so far prevailed with them as to result in a compromise, and in the effort after a still wider union proceeding on more national lines.

By 1870 the division between the union majority and the separatist minority had become so wide that the Assembly committed the subject for discussion to each of the seventy *presbyteries. In that of Edinburgh, towards midnight in November, Dr. Duff discharged from the fulness of his whole nature an ‘cirenicon’ which shared the immediate fate of all attempts at peace-making during the white heat of controversy, but bore fruit when the hour of reflection came. Called for by the public it was written out from the reporter’s notes. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, oldest of the non-established churches in Scotland, had meanwhile joined the negotiations and was ultimately incorporated with the Free Church. This one passage may serve as an illustration of the spirit that animated the first missionary of the Church of Scotland in his impassioned advocacy of union : “What is the design of the present negotiations? Is it not to bring into closer corporate alliance the three largest of the non-established Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, between whom there seem to exist no real differences on grand, vital, essential, doctrinal points, and, by so doing, to repair at least some of the widest breaches in our once happily united Scottish Zion; and that, too, not as an end in itself, however blessed, but as a means to a mere glorious end—even that of the more effective evangelization of the sunken masses at home, and of the hundreds of millions of heathen abroad? Such being the central object, and grand ultimate end in view, who would envy the sorry vocation of any one that laboured to throw obstacles in the way, instead of helping to

remove such as may now exist ; or strove to widen instead of lessening the breaches which all deplore ; or to magnify any differences which may be discovered, instead of attempting, without any unworthy compromise, to reduce them, in their intrinsic and relative proportions, to the very uttermost ? But the work of reconstruction and reconsolidation would not be completed until, in some practicable way, by which any ‘ wood, hay, or stubble,’ in our respective edifices, or any ‘ untempered mortar’ in their walls, being wisely disposed of, the present established and non-established churches might be all reunited on a common platform, in one Reformed National Church—national, at least, in the sense of embracing within its fold the great bulk of our Scottish population.”

When the General Assembly of 1873 was approaching, the controversy had become so embittered that the separatist minority plainly hinted they would secede if the majority exercised its constitutional right by legislatively carrying out union. Now was the time for the peacemaker. The whole Church turned to Dr. Duff as the one man who could avert the crisis. To the present writer, then in India, he sent this among other communications, marked by all the frank affection of confidential friendship :

“ PATTERDALE, 24th April, 1873.

“ . . . You may have noticed by what a strange evolution of Providence I am to be proposed a second time for the Assembly’s chair. When first asked to allow myself to be nominated, it took me so aback that I was not only staggered but almost convulsed. I could not possibly all at once say ‘ yes,’ it was so utterly repugnant to all my own tastes, wishes, and inclinations, that I could not see my way at all to respond to such a call ; besides, the state, the very

peculiar and precarious state of my health alone would be enough to forbid compliance. On the other hand, such a proposal, coming from such a meeting, said to be cordial and unanimous on the subject, I could not all at once peremptorily reject. After a day or two's terrible mental struggle I felt myself thrust up, by a singular concurrence of Providence, into a readiness to comply, provided no opposition from any quarter were manifested. Being assured on all sides that my acceptance would, for various reasons assigned, be felt rather as a relief by all parties, I at last consented. For weeks I have been struggling hard to hit on some middle measure—such as passing the ‘mutual eligibility’ scheme, accompanied with a strong declaration of resolute adherence to the doctrine of Christ’s kingship over the nations and the other great fundamental doctrines for which the anti-union party have been contending, as if they alone upheld them, but which in reality have been equally maintained by the union party—a measure, therefore, which would not compromise the union party, and might secure the passive acquiescence, at least, of the anti-union party. The union party are quite prepared to accompany the passing of the mutual eligibility measure with such a strong declaration, but the utterly unreasonable anti-union party as yet have rejected such a proposal, and demand the rejection of the mutual eligibility measure *simpliciter*; and this, of course, the union party cannot in honour concede.

“ Many, however, of the moderate men on the anti-union side have been shaken by the above proposal, and will not, if the mutual eligibility measure be passed (as it is sure to be) leave the Church, but be satisfied with a dissent or protest. . . . Some half-dozen or dozen men seem, as yet, to be determined on a disruption if the mutual eligibility measure be passed,

no matter with what declaration, however strong—though it really concede to them all they are contending for—showing clearly that it is not the preservation of principle that any more actuates them, but a desire for personal victory and triumph over their opponents. . . .”

This “middle measure” was carried, as a compromise, so that ministers of the United Presbyterian Church have ever since been eligible and have been called as ministers of the Free Church, and *vise versa*. The system has worked well, but it is neither union nor incorporation. The majority, yielding for the sake of peace and to avoid a small schism while healing a larger, yet, “for the exoneration of our consciences and for the sake of posterity,” entered on the records of the Assembly an explanatory statement, the first signature attached to which was that of “Alexander Duff, D.D.” That statement solemnly recognises the Spirit of the Lord in the origin and progress of the union movement, and the duty and responsibility of prosecuting it, till the necessity arose of “deferring to the scruples of beloved fathers and brethren.” It thus concluded: “We acknowledge in this dispensation the evidence of much sin and shortcoming on the part of the human agents concerned, the guilt of which we take largely to ourselves, earnestly hoping for the concurrence of our brethren with us, in the prayer that the Lord may search us and try us all, that He may see what wickedness is in us, and lead us in the way everlasting, the only way in which real union can be sought and found.” Since that time the cause of union has made rapid strides, but along another road—in the Act of Parliament of 1874, and the declaration of the Moderator of the Established Church, acknowledging the wrong done in 1843 though not making restitution as Mr. Gladstone

pointed out; in the union in 1876 of the Free and Reformed Presbyterian Churches; and in the advance all over Europe, but chiefly in Italy, France and Scotland, of the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church of lay communicants in spiritual things, with loyal submission to the State in all others. The dream of one reconstructed and united Kirk in the little bit of a small island called Scotland is fast approaching realization, and Dr. Duff rejoiced in the prospect. Even ecclesiastics have come to feel that the divisions are "ludicrous" as well as sinful. He promoted and delighted in the removal of ecclesiastical sectarianism from public instruction in Scotland, so as to make it national again. The free national Kirk will follow the open national school the moment the people insist that right shall be done. Then foreign as well as home missions will enter on a new era.

As Moderator of the General Assembly of 1873 Dr. Duff delivered in part, and published in full, his opening and closing addresses, under the title of *The World-Wide Crisis*. As partially reported at the time they had caused much discussion in the daily newspapers. Surveying the world as it is, and the history of the race in the light of God's truth ever and again arresting the degeneracy of men left to themselves, he said in effect to his own distracted Church and to all the divided Churches of Christendom: "Cease your petty strifes; unite and fight against your one enemy." Far removed from the shallow sensationalism of the prophecy-expounders whose only use is to destroy each others' theories, he yet spake as a seer who felt the world growing evil because the Church had become cold. With an imperial insight he swooped down the ages upon the conscience, he traced the increasing purpose of God in Christ which runs through them all, he marshalled in Miltonic array the forces of darkness, and

he closed his opening address by setting against each man's "neglect of duty, its terrible doom," a consummation of glory in the heavens. The *Spectator* pronounced the address a "plea for a true conception of Church work by comparison with the trifle which engrossed his auditors. It struck the right key-note and it did not go without its reward." The closing address was as practical as that was elevated. The Education Act he pronounced an "equitable compromise," such that "it will now be the fault of the local boards and of the electors of the boards if everywhere we shall not have a religious education with the free use of the Bible and Shorter Catechism." Citing his own experience of the introduction of optional examinations on the evidences of revealed religion of Butler and Paley, into the University of Calcutta, he pleaded for the endowment of such a free or open lectureship in the Scottish Universities, on the model of that established by Jefferson in Virginia, as would gather into one the whole Bible teaching of the schools in all their grades from the first standard to the degree of Master of Arts.

The death of Dr. Candlish in 1873 once more left vacant the office of Principal of the New College, Edinburgh, which that distinguished preacher had held along with the pulpit of Free St. George's since the death of Dr. Cunningham. Thirty-six years before, the sudden removal of Dr. Chalmers had led many, who valued home work more though they would have it that they did not love foreign missions less, to desire Dr. Duff's recall that he might then fill the Principal's seat. Now that he was not only at home but a Professor in the College, it seemed natural as well as becoming that one so venerable and of such reputation in all the Churches as well as in his own, should preside in the senatus and discharge the other duties

of a more honorary than exacting kind. Even in 1862, Dr. Hanna, when convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, had thus written to him : "Had the Church thought of calling you home it could only have been to occupy such a position as that held by the late lamented Principal. Other arrangements have been made to fill that vacancy, and I do not foresee the opening of any other position such, in its station of command and influence, as to lead to your being invited to occupy it. . . . It has been your privilege to devote such a life of labour and such an amount of consecrated genius to the mission field in India, that, with failing health, it seems not unnatural that you should retire from much at least of the labour of your present position, and it ought to be the Church's part to consider in what way she can best show her sense of the worth of the services you have rendered, and best promote the comfort and usefulness of your remaining years. I can quite sympathise with all the feelings you have expressed as to an unwillingness in present circumstances to return home."

But when the office of Principal became vacant in 1873, it did not, at first, occur to Dr. Duff to think of filling it. He lost no time in letting this be known privately, with the frankness that had marked all personal considerations in his case. But the compromise of the previous General Assembly had not removed party bitterness. Dr. Duff had loyally accepted it, and had been drawn somewhat more closely to the anti-union leaders than had been possible before. As the duty of the peacemaker had induced him to become Moderator at a crisis which he had successfully warded off, he came to see that the same duty required him to sacrifice his first intention. If Dr. Rainy, whom Dr. Candlish's death had made the leader of the old union majority, had been unanimously

accepted by the Church as Principal, Dr. Duff would have been delighted to see the son of an old personal friend in the seat. Even if the usual course of sending the proposal down to presbyteries, for their opinion, had been followed, he would have been satisfied that justice had been done to both parties, while regretting the want of complete unanimity. This was the very first opportunity for testing the reality of the reconciliation between the two parties. The unionists had, most reluctantly but generously, surrendered their rights as a large majority—had sacrificed even their duty, as their explanatory statement half confessed—in perpetuating what many considered to be schism. The separatists expected, rightly or wrongly, that their old opponents would in all matters take them into their confidence. Dr. Duff had believed that the compromise between them would bear a more severe strain than this. But when he learned that the appointment of Dr. Rainy would rouse the old anti-union bitterness into violent opposition, he became willing again to throw himself into the breach. He had agreed to the earnest request of the union majority so far as to become Moderator a second time. He yielded to the entreaties of the old separatist minority so far as to abandon his desire not to be nominated for Principal, expressed at a time when he had been incorrectly assured that Dr. Rainy's appointment would be unanimous. In the interests of the peace he had seemed to bring about as Moderator, he was willing to be appointed Principal. In both cases he underestimated the strength of ecclesiastical partisanship, even when, for the unity of Christ's Church, it is directed to the purest ends. Who doubts that, but for the existence of such partisanship, the Free Church of Scotland would have unanimously compelled its noblest son to take the seat of Chalmers, Cunningham,

and Candlish, even as it had a second time made him Moderator?

From the controversy in the newspapers and the General Assembly of 1874, which resulted in Dr. Duff resigning his two offices, and withdrawing the resignation after a deputation of its leading members on both sides had conveyed to him the Assembly's loving message, we take this one letter as most fully expressing his views. It was written a month before the meeting of Assembly in reply to a communication from the late Lord Dalhousie, who, alike as Mr. Fox Maule, M.P., Lord Panniere and the eleventh Earl, had always been an active elder of the Free Church:

“PATTERDALE, 18th April, 1874.

“DEAR LORD DALHOUSIE,—Having about three weeks ago left Aberdeen for the South, your Lordship's letter addressed to me there has reached me in this retired corner of England, and I now beg most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of it.

“Fully appreciating the motives which prompted you to write it, I can only say that, from my strong impression of the candour, independence of mind and impartiality of judgment for which you have been noted, if the opinion of any man with a full and accurate statement of all the facts of the case before him could influentially weigh with me, yours assuredly would. I am, however, satisfied that with much of what has occurred, and of which, without any inquiry or solicitation on my part, I have from time to time been made more or less cognisant, of a nature amply sufficient to account for the passive attitude which, in consistency with the principles on which I have acted throughout my whole life, I have been literally constrained to assume, your Lordship, owing to your great distance from the scene of action, must in a great measure be unacquainted; otherwise, I cannot help thinking that some portions of your letter would have been withheld, or expressed in a somewhat modified form. Having, by the force of circumstances beyond my control, been in a manner driven into the position I now occupy I cannot but deliberately adhere

to it; unless more, or better, light be shed upon the whole subject than I now happen to possess.

"Had your Lordship, who has so long generously honoured me with your friendship, written as an old friend to me, desiring to learn my own mature views relative to the recent movement—accompanied, it might be, with a friendly expression of your own, according to the light then enjoyed—*instead of assuming the correctness of the representation of these,* by other and mayhap interested parties—a representation, in some cases at least, *to my certain knowledge* one-sided, partial, or *wholly erroneous*—and acting without any inquiry, as concerns me, on that assumption—most gladly would I have entered into any needful explanations on the entire subject. But after all that has already transpired, I regret that I do not feel at liberty, in writing, to enter into any fuller explanatory details as regards the past. Nor is it necessary now. My own view of the nature and origin, the objects, the merits and the possible results of the movement appears to differ from that of your Lordship; I think it therefore quite enough, in the meantime, to direct a copy to be sent you of a memorandum which I had written some time ago in answer to inquiries addressed to me, for the information of such as it might concern, briefly setting forth the views which I was then led to entertain, and which I still continue to entertain on the subject.

"One thing, however, I must say—it is this: that the manner in which, according to current report and belief, certain parties went about their favourite object at the outset, and subsequently prosecuted it—with no regard for the unbroken continuance of the peace and harmony of our Church, which, as we fondly hoped and believed, had been happily restored at last Assembly—was well calculated painfully to wound my moral and religious sensibilities.

"If on account of my remaining passive in the matter which is now agitating the Church, and freely allowing its members, so far as I am concerned, to think and act according to their own judgment, I should be regarded and treated as an offender by certain parties, and incur their serious displeasure and the alienation of their feelings towards me—seeing that it has been their own unworthy and objectionable proceedings alone which in honour and consistency constrained me to assume the passive attitude—I cannot help it. The sin and the shame, if such

they be, will be theirs, not mine; and the forfeiture of their friendship in such case, from a moral point of view, will be really no loss, but positive gain, by unmasking, if not the hollowness, at least the shallowness of former professions. Anyhow, deeply conscious as I am of my own integrity of motive and rectitude of intention—which if driven to it, when the proper time comes, I shall be prepared fully to vindicate before the world—I feel intensely that it is a small matter for me to be judged or misjudged by man's fallible judgment: He that judgeth me is God, and to my own Master I stand or fall;—while there will be furnished to me a new and striking illustration of the beauty, wisdom and force of the prophet's warning exhortation, ‘Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?’

“As to the dreaded effect upon Missions of any event that can happen, I have no fear whatever—the God of Missions will see to them. If the zeal of the Church in that sacred cause draws its inspiration from anything connected with man's theories of ecclesiastical policy, or aught else of earthly kind—and not from the love of Christ, the love of souls and the glory of God—it is a spurious and worthless zeal, which the Holy Ghost, Whose supreme function it is to ‘convince the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgment,’ cannot be expected to bless or prosper. As to my humble self, my life, from the outset of my ministerial career, has by a ‘solemn league and covenant’ with my God been devoted to the promotion of the Mission cause, in some one way or other, as the Lord might direct. Whatever situation, therefore, I may occupy here below, or whether or not I occupy any situation at all, my unalterable purpose, by the help of God's grace, till the expiration of my latest breath, will be to spend and be spent, as best I may, in its advocacy, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear.

“With regard to any possible or probable issue of the recent movement, my sole trust is in the God of providence and grace, whose sovereign prerogative it is to bring light out of darkness, order out of confusion, and good out of evil. And my fervent prayer is, that in due time and in some good and gracious way or other, He may be pleased to interpose and overrule the present untoward state of things for the ultimate furtherance of His own all-wise and beneficent designs.

"Thanking your Lordship very warmly for the seasonable and solemn remembrancer about the advance of old age, from which I earnestly desire to profit, by endeavouring more assiduously than ever, through the aids of the heavenly grace, to prepare to meet my God; and thanking you very cordially for all the kind attentions of the past, whatever may be in store for the future,—I remain, etc.,

"ALEXANDER DUFF."

The conclusion of the affair formed an occasion for the display of simple Christian magnanimity on the part of the venerable missionary. Principal Rainy happened to be absent from the first meeting of senatus after his appointment. Dr. Duff at once consented to preside. Again, when the session of 1875 had opened, Dr. Duff took occasion to allude, before all the students, to the introductory address, in terms which we find Dr. Rainy thus reciprocating in a private letter to him, dated the 25th November: "My absence was accidental. But I can hardly regret it, having heard of the very kind way in which you took occasion to speak of my address. I set it down entirely to your own generosity of feeling, but I do not value it the less on that account." Dr. Duff's long friendship with the writer's father, Dr. Harry Rainy, became still closer. After, as before, the controversy it was plainly seen that the Principalship was nothing to the man whose whole life had been a self-sacrifice, save as a means to the end of the unity of his Church and the consequent enlargement of its missionary zeal and enterprise.

In 1876 some of the anti-union party, joined by others as the discussion went on, fastened the charge of "unsoundness" on the Rev. W. Robertson Smith, Professor of Oriental Languages and the Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Free Church College of Aberdeen, and a member of the Committee for the Revision

of the Old Testament version. The cause lay chiefly in the article "Bible," which had appeared the year before, signed by him, in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The college committee, to whose jurisdiction he was subject in the first instance, formally reported that they found no grounds for a "libel," or judicial charge, against the writer; but they expressed disapprobation at the absence of explanations as to the relation of his critical views to the Protestant doctrine of Scripture, and because of his theory of the literary side of what he fully admitted to be the inspired book of Deuteronomy. The case came before the General Assembly of 1877, which, by a majority, instructed the Professor's own presbytery of Aberdeen, as the court of first instance, to take it up judicially. It has gone on ever since, in Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly. The first two by large majorities have followed the college committee. The last General Assembly, by a majority of one in a house of 641 members who voted, instructed the Presbytery to charge the Professor formally with holding opinions on the authorship of Deuteronomy contrary to the Confession of Faith. This, by large majorities, both Presbytery and Synod have conscientiously found themselves unable to do, and the difficulty will again come up before the General Assembly of 1880.

Strictly abstaining from expressing an opinion on a case which is still *sub judice*, we may briefly state Dr. Duff's relation to a question which occupied his thoughts and his correspondence till his death. Knowing it only in its early stages, when the Professor was charged with holding the rationalism of Kuenen, which he combats, and with impugning the inspiration and canonicity of all Scripture, which he upholds and preaches, Dr. Duff shared the alarm of those who considered that "the most momentous issue was involved

in the crisis." In his eyes that issue was not one of Hebrew scholarship and criticism on the recent field of the literary origin and structure of one of the sacred books, that its inspiration and canonicity might be established against the rationalist and the anti-supernaturalist, as each stage of the procedure has since shown. The historical veracity, infallible truth, and divine authority of Scripture seemed to him to be at stake, and to the defence of that all his antecedents and all his principles summoned him. His experience in Calcutta, where he had declared that of all learned men the Biblical critic ought to be the most learned, his own method there, and his plea for learned as well as pious missionaries before the General Assembly, proved that he would have been the last to restrain the freedom of legitimate criticism, the first to see that what had been called the life of the Church's scholarship was not threatened by a judicial condemnation of opinions which might afterwards be found to be not inconsistent with the Reformed doctrine of Holy Scripture. But before the inquiry and discussion, now of four years, had revealed the details of this particular investigation, it was natural that Dr. Duff should look first at what Professor Robertson Smith has since repeatedly declared he holds in common with all the Reformed Churches,—the divine inspiration and authority of Deuteronomy and all the canonical books of Scripture. Dr. Duff had ever been foremost in the defence of the evangelical doctrine of the Bible as the Word of God, which was the root of all his missionary methods and successes.

These years of controversy, forced on him in the interests of peace, were none the less busy in other good work of a catholic kind. The same events which, in 1874, roused Mr. Gladstone to expose what he called the monstrous exaggeration of Church power

into papal power, by publishing his work on the Vatican decrees in their bearing on civil allegiance, which, with other two, has since appeared under the title of "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion," summoned Dr. Duff to take part, with Dr. Thompson of Berlin and others, in the great Glasgow meeting on Vaticanism of the 5th October, 1875. There the old fire burst forth again as he addressed himself to the popular exposition of the resolution, "That the re-appearance of the papal system in the free nations of Britain and Germany, with bolder pretensions than ever, and waging open war against all the institutions of modern society, is a fact of the gravest significance to the people of Scotland, who suffered so much from it in former days, and demands the earnest attention of every friend of civil and religious liberty and every lover of our Queen and country."

The British and Foreign Bible Society again claimed his advocacy in Exeter Hall, although age and toil had begun to rob the once thrilling voice of its power. To the National Bible Society of Scotland he ever lent his strength, alike in consultation and public advocacy. His old love of the press, and his conviction, too rarely met with in the Church, of the importance of creating and disseminating a pure and robust literature, found constant exercise in the operations of the Tract and Book Society of Scotland as well as of England. Working side by side with Mr. Martin, of Auchen-dennan, he sent pure books and periodicals into many a far-distant manse and hamlet. He helped to organize the system of colportage for the agricultural, mining and manufacturing districts, and was never happier than amidst the gatherings of the colporteurs as they returned to tell in conference their doings. He knew the power of literature for good or evil, he bewailed the neglect of it by evan-

gelicalism. He was prevented only by the multitudinous cares of his own proper duties, as missionary, convener and professor, from realizing his dream not only of a Missionary Quarterly, but of a weekly newspaper to compete with the secularism and sensuality which successfully appeal to the people, because they are offered nothing else. Himself familiar with literary work, and chivalrous with the inbred courtesy of the old school, he could have succeeded had he made the attempt when he was younger, for he knew, as few do, how to respect the literary profession. His experience of India, where Mr. Murray had encouraged him in reprints of copyright works, led him to desire such a modification of the law as would substitute royalties for monopoly, or some equitable system. At the end of his career, as at the beginning, he thus wrote of the civilizing effects of our English literature :

" In this country we are literally deluged with a constantly increasing torrent of pernicious literature, fraught with the seeds of sedition, impurity and irreligion—freely accessible to the humblest of the masses because of its cheapness. On the side of British patriotism and Christian philanthropy, therefore, is it not most desirable that, by the relaxation or removal of present copyright restrictions, a sound and corrective popular literature might, by an ample reduction of cost, be supplied and brought within reach of all classes over the land—much to the advantage of authors, publishers and the public ? Again, with regard to India, English education of every grade is rapidly spreading among its teeming inhabitants. In all higher collegiate education, the English language, with one or other of the oriental tongues, such as Sanskrit or Arabic, is always one of the two languages on which students are examined for university degrees in arts." Consequently, our English classics are

profoundly studied with peculiar zest and earnestness by thousands and even tens of thousands of intelligent native youths ; and English literature, as a living and not a dead one, becomes to them for ever after the main storehouse whence they draw their intellectual aliment."

By nothing so much as by tours on the continent of Europe did Dr. Duff at once keep up the catholicity developed by his Indian experience, and the elasticity of spirit which was essential for work such as he continued to the last year of his life. Almost every alternate year he so planned his time as to give the two months from the middle of June to August to this highest form of recreation. Now he was in Holland, now on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Again duty drove him as far east as the Lebanon ; another year saw him exploring Russia ; and another found him in Norway. The result to others of his solitary wanderings was sometimes a speech or a pamphlet, but always the richest conversation for his friends, and the most precious letters to his family. To Lady Aberdeen we find him writing in 1871 : "The tour in Holland was most seasonable. I twice visited that country, and I did so with much interest. There is much in its past history of a stirring and ennobling character, on high Christian grounds ; though, alas, in these latter days, there has in this respect been much lamentable degeneracy. My second visit was by special invitation from a union of evangelical societies, who were to hold a meeting in a wood near Utrecht. Some fifteen or sixteen thousand of the still remaining good people of Holland assembled on the occasion. In several parts of the wood some half-dozen rustic pulpits were erected. The avowed object was to give an account of different Missions throughout the world ; but in so doing full liberty was given to the speakers to shape

their remarks so as to bear directly on the rationalism and other errors now unhappily prevalent in Holland. There was much solemnity on the occasion, and I seldom enjoyed any gathering so much."

When at Hamburg, in August, 1871, about to make a tour by Denmark and Sweden through Russia to the great fair at Nijni Novgorod, on the Volga, we met Dr. Duff who had just returned from the same route, by Warsaw and the old Scandinavian cities of the Baltic. For a month he had been without letters, and all the fulness of his sensitive nature burst forth as he was told of recent events, home and ecclesiastical. In a rapid drive to Blankenese, and as during a long night we paced the deck of the steamer to sail on the morrow, he detailed, in return, the events of his tour with a combined practical accuracy and eloquent description which made him the most charming as well as instructive of companions. From Stockholm through the autumn paradise of islands which form the Aland Archipelago and on by the gulf and ports of Finland, he reached St. Petersburg. One of his fellow-travellers, the Rev. John Baillie, tells in *Good Words* how, guided by the plan in "Murray," his topographical instinct led him straight through that city of distances yet intricacies to the new hotel which they sought. For him the glories of St. Isaac's were soon dimmed by the heartless irreverence of the Russo-Greek priests and the superstition of the people, so that he declared he had not, even in the idolatries of the East, seen anything more degraded. At Moscow he revelled in the Kremlin and its associations, historical and oriental. But it was in the Troitsa Monastery, forty miles off, that he fully realized what Russia is, in its good and its evil. At this "Oxford of Russia" he understood why it is that the most perfect form of civil and spiritual autocracy the world

has seen is not only a menace to the liberties of other countries, but is fatal to all progress among the Russians themselves, so that the next great revolution must be there and soon. The sight and the memories of Warsaw completed the lesson. Thence he returned by Königsberg and the famous old cities of the southern Baltic, and especially the island of Rugen, where he traced every detail of the old Norse mythology as he contrasted its now extinct horrors with the living abominations of the popular Brahmanical and Vaishnava worship of India. At Breslau as well as Warsaw he had inspected the Jewish Mission. His verdict on the state of the Lutheran Church in North Germany he expressed in the one word, "petrifaction."

In the last of his long tours which he made in 1873 through Norway, he traversed the whole of its seaboard from the south up to the region of the midnight sun, whence he was able to telegraph from the *Ultima Thule* of Vadsö on the Varanger Fiord. Most travellers who visit that region are content, he told the General Assembly, with admiring "its deeply indented fiords with their beetling precipices, roaring waterfalls, and waving forests; its elevated fields or plateaux of perpetual snow, and glaciers sometimes descending to near the sea level; and its numberless valleys and lakes often of surpassing richness and softened beauties,—without ever trying to realize the fact that the very glories of physical nature in that land stand sadly in the way of its effective spiritual culture and improvement."

He found at its height the movement towards spiritual liberty in the Lutheran Church, begun by the peasant preacher, Hans Nielson Haug, and continued by two evangelical professors in the University of Christiania. The new life had been driven into the one channel of the Foreign Mission Society, which from an institute at Stavanger had sent forth agents

to Madagascar and Zululand. At Durban Dr. Duff had met two of these, and now all his heart went out to the directors of the society. A home mission or Luther Institution had since been formed, and a party had arisen who desired to follow the example of the Free Church of Scotland. When Dr. Duff arrived at Christiania he found that the movement had assumed the proportions of a "land's" or national meeting representing each of the five "stifts" or ecclesiastical provinces. Seeing in this, and certainly most ardently desiring, the beginning of "a national ecclesiastical revolution," or at least of reforms which might result in the continuance of "the established but spiritually free and independent Church of Norway," Dr. Duff yielded to the invitation to take part in the proceedings.

Thus at home and abroad, and on the only enduring basis of freedom for the conscience and the truth, he ever experienced the fact expressed in that pregnant sentence of the Lord's brother: "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace."

CHAPTER XXIX.

1876-1878.

DYING.

Dr. Duff completes his Seventieth Year.—Accident in his Library.—Observing Public Events.—Progress of the Prince of Wales through India.—Correspondence with Sir Bartle Frere.—Proclamation of the Empress.—Conversation with Mr. Gladstone on the Muhammadan Question.—Invited to Lecture in Nave of Westminster Abbey on St. Andrew's Day.—Letter to his second Convert.—Memorial of Dugald Buchanan.—Renewed Illness.—Surgical Operation without Chloroform.—Message from first General Presbyterian Council.—At Neuenahr.—Letters on the Famine of South India and his Calcutta Students.—Resigns all his Offices.—Is removed to Sidmouth.—Meditations of the dying Saint—Last Messages.—The end is Peace.—The Burial.—The Unity of the Whole Career.—Mr. Gladstone on Alexander Duff.

On the 25th April, 1876, Dr. Duff completed the seventieth year of his busy life. The college session was at an end; the Universities had crowned their winter course with the usual ceremonial of graduation; the ecclesiastical and philanthropic societies, of which he was an active member, were preparing for the May meetings. It was the time of that one of the two sacramental "fasts" in Edinburgh, every year, when the rapt stillness of devotion in the churches contrasts strangely with the rush of holiday-makers outside, and still perpetuates amid ever increasing difficulty the old covenanting associations of the time, when the people and their Kirk formed one educated spiritual democracy. Never of late had Dr. Duff felt so well, though always wearied by the attempt to over-

take the details of his varied and excessive duties, as when, spiritually braced by the exercises of a Scottish communion season, he addressed himself to the task of once more rousing the General Assembly to its duty to Foreign Missions. But the first stage of what was to prove his fatal illness was at hand. When acknowledging the receipt of a sum of money from the widow of Sir Henry Durand, destined as the annual prize for the best "essay on some important subject of Christian bearing and tendency in our Calcutta Institution where the name of the revered departed is still gratefully remembered," Dr. Duff thus alluded to an accident and an illness which his physician considered far more serious than the sufferer himself.

"I was delighted to learn you had met with good Dr. Bonar. He is a man of rare gifts, poetical as well as other, and of a high-toned Christian character. He is not only a dear friend but a near neighbour of mine here. It is quite true that, before he left Edinburgh early in May last, I was in ordinary health, but during his absence, towards the end of May, I met with a serious accident, having fallen from a considerable height heavily on my back in my study, my head knocking against a desk and getting sadly gashed. This confined me to my bedroom for weeks. When getting well and able to move about towards the end of July, I was suddenly seized with a violent attack of illness which disabled me for about two months. Since October, however, by God's great goodness, I have enjoyed ordinary health." The double warning was unheeded, and the old man of seventy-one persisted in discharging his office and professorial duties all through the session of 1876-77, travelling much between Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen in the rigour of a Scottish winter, and for the first three months of 1877 longing for the familiar surroundings

of his own home though lovingly tended by friends in the last two cities.

Intellectually he seemed to grow in keenness of observation and energy. The great public events which marked the close of Mr. Gladstone's administration, the transfer of power to his rivals, and the consistent attitude of the Scottish people throughout, were viewed by him from a higher level than that of party. Like most Anglo-Indians and Englishmen who have lived much abroad, he looked at affairs as they affected not the domestic politics of Great Britain—while by no means indifferent to these—but the welfare of the great peoples of the East and West. Liberty, the free development of the nations under Christian institutions or influences, was what he sought, whether in his own country and its colonies or in America, alike for India and Russia and Turkey. The longer he lived out of India, above all, the more did he concern himself with its progress. Had he not sown many of the seeds of that progress? Had he not been a part of the mighty machine of Christian civilization in Southern Asia, at a time when Bentinck and Macaulay, Charles Grant and Wilberforce were putting it together? Was it not his daily employment to control the administration of an enterprise directed to the transformation of millions into Christian men and women?

For Dr. Duff the visit of the Prince of Wales to India and all that it involved had a profound interest. Personally familiar with the career of every Governor-General from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Canning, John Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook, he knew the tremendous influence of example for good or evil in such a position. Especially had the natives of India, ignorant of the spirit of Christian faith and worship, tested the sincerity of their rulers by the

letter, by a standard so familiar to their level as that of keeping a holy day. Had not the Marquis Wellesley eighty years before been so convinced of the evil political effects of Sabbath-breaking by Christians that he took steps to secure the better observance of the day among the European residents of Bengal? Did not Viscount Hardinge, with Henry Lawrence at his elbow, decree the discontinuance of public works on Sunday, a decree ever since too little regarded and never enforced? Was it unknown or forgotten that when Lord Canning, in the year after the Mutiny, was about to make his triumphal march through the Punjab on any or every day of the week, as he had done through Hindostan, he received with silent courtesy the rebuke contained in the example of John Lawrence,* and thenceforth no tent was ever again struck on a Sunday in the Viceroy's camp? How would the Prince of Wales act in a rapid tour through the feudatory states as well as the ordinary provinces, when all the chivalry of India, Hindoo and Muhammadan, would be at the feet of the Queen's eldest son, when multitudes of the peoples and all the Christian officials would crowd around his Royal Highness?

The churches and communities which sent forth their future sovereign that he might thus prepare himself for the responsibilities of empire, did well to be in earnest about it. Presbyters and bishops invoked on his head the protecting blessing of Almighty God, praying, as in Lichfield diocese, that He would "strengthen, support, and sanctify him in his works; that he might be a blessed instrument in Thy hand for promoting the welfare of India, and for spreading forth Thy gospel and advancing Thy kingdom." From

* *John, First Lord Lawrence of the Punjab*, by Robert N. Cust.
August, 1879.

Gloucester cathedral a similar petition arose. In Westminster Abbey the Dean, taking for a text the description in Esther of the hundred and seven and twenty provinces of Xerxes, from India even unto Ethiopia, used language like this : " To-morrow the first heir to the English throne who has ever visited the Indian Empire starts on his journey to those distant regions which the greatest of his ancestors, Alfred the Great, a thousand years ago, so ardently longed to explore, which now forms the most precious jewel in the imperial crown. On this eve of that departure, solemn to him and solemn to us, we pray that the eldest son of our Royal House, in whose illness and recovery four years ago the whole nation took so deep an interest, shall now once more be delivered from peril by land and peril by sea, from the pestilence that walketh by day and the arrow that flieth by night ; we pray that he may be restored safe and sound to the mother, the wife and the little children who shall wait in anxious expectation his happy and prosperous return. But we pray, or ought to pray, yet more earnestly that his journey may be blessed to himself and to those whom he visits—in all things high and holy, just and pure, lovely and of good report. We pray that this visit, long desired and at last undertaken, to those marvellous lands, may by God's mercy leave behind, on the one side, the remembrance, if so be, of graceful acts, kind words, English nobleness, Christian principle ; and, on the other side, awaken in all concerned the sense of graver duties, wider sympathies, loftier purposes. Thus, and thus only, shall that journey on which the Church and nation now pronounce its parting benediction, be worthy of a Christian empire and worthy of an English prince, for the building up in truth and righteousness of that imperial inheritance, for the moral and eternal welfare

of his own immortal soul ; may the Lord bless his going out and coming in from this time forth and for evermore."

In Scotland the societies most interested, like the Sabbath Alliance, turned to Dr. Duff for counsel. To the many who urged action, by memorial and public discussion, he gave in substance this wise advice :

Let us not hastily or unadvisedly assume that this is a subject which his Royal Highness is disposed to treat with indifference, or that it is one which has not already engaged his own serious attention. He knows well how the due observance of the Sabbath is studiously provided for in the laws and constitution of this realm ; how vitally it enters into the liturgical services of the Church of England, of which the British monarch is the civil head ; and how precious it is in the deliberate judgment of the best and most reputable of her Majesty's Christian subjects, alike at home and in every other region of the earth. From his acquaintance with the history of India, he must be doubtless aware of the excellent effects produced by the ordinance of the Marquis Wellesley, relative to the better observance of the Sabbath among European residents, and by the decree of Lord Hardinge ordering the discontinuance of all public Government works on that day. From his ample observation also of men and manners in divers lands, he must know well how nothing tends to exalt Christians more highly in the favourable regards of Orientals of all races and sects, than a careful attention to the acknowledged requirements and observance of their own faith. It seems, therefore, only fitting and deferential to assume and believe that his Royal Highness, knowing full well all this and much more of like kind, has of his own accord duly considered the whole subject in its varied legitimate bearings, and intelligently made up his mind as

to the course of conduct which it would be most consistent and dignified for him, as a Christian prince, to pursue. Taking this general view of the case, altogether apart from the higher and more specific considerations connected with the obligations of divine law, as recorded in the Decalogue, and elsewhere in Holy Scripture, he recommended interested parties in the meanwhile to resort to no measure of a kind that might indicate a want of becoming confidence in the sound sense and good feeling of his Royal Highness; to refrain from any overt action in the way of public meetings or official addresses or memorials, and to leave the decision as to the course of action to be observed to the spontaneous suggestions of the Prince's own mind, backed by the wise counsel of his advisers.

As an old friend of the chief of these advisers, Sir Bartle Frere, Dr. Duff privately addressed him on the subject. The correspondence is most honourable to both, and to the Prince to whom it was submitted. The fact was elicited so early as the 11th September, 1875, a month before the departure, that one of the first instructions given by his Royal Highness to Sir Bartle Frere, when desiring him to arrange for the tour, had been to take care that no travelling or other secular work should be marked out for any Sunday. Her Majesty had expressed a similar wish. The desire and the example of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and of Sir Bartle Frere himself, were well known. And it was soon announced that Canon Duckworth was to be the Prince's chaplain on the tour. Dr. Duff delighted in every step of the royal progress during the next six months, as a message of goodwill to the peoples of India in the concrete form which all classes of them best appreciated. When the tour was happily concluded he thus wrote to a friend on the 15th April, 1876:—“Taking it all and all in its varied

and multiplied bearings and aspects, it is to my own mind the most remarkable tour to be found in the annals of all time."

The royal visit resulted in such a titular and political proclamation of the Empire as ought to have been made on the 1st November, 1858, when the Queen assumed the direct sovereignty till then held by the East India Company in trust. Here again India became the sport of English party feeling, as it has often been the victim of ecclesiastical divisions. An act in itself desirable from its administrative and kindly social uses, was converted into an occasion of constitutional weakness. Dr. Duff thus expressed his view of it in a letter to Lady Durand, written on the 23rd December, 1876 : "The matter of the Queen's new title was miserably bungled and mismanaged in Parliament through the wretched spirit of political partisanship. But now that it has become an Act of Parliament, I feel that all loyal subjects ought to unite in trying to make it work for good in India. In the main, I hope that this will be the case, if our folks act wisely and prudently on the occasion of the Proclamation, and with good sense and good feeling afterwards. How my old revered friend and your beloved husband will be missed on the occasion. His experience, sagacity, far-sighted wisdom and noble superiority to the petty spirit of all mere partisanship, would have given weight and dignity to the Viceroy's counsels and actings." In an address to the people of Edinburgh on the 1st January, 1873, the day of the Proclamation at Delhi, Dr. Duff gave his reading of these events in the light of that spiritual aggression on the idolatries of the East to which he had sacrificed his life.

By that time the Indian question had been directly made part of the great Eastern problem, which is still being slowly worked out in the divine evolution of

history. It was in September, 1876, that Mr. Gladstone summoned the conscience of England to pronounce a verdict on the Mussulman power which had caused the anarchic oppression of centuries to culminate in the horrors of the Bulgarian massacres. Dr. Duff met him at Lady Waterford's soon after, and engaged in conversation on Muhammadanism, which the great statesman subsequently pronounced most fruitful in its suggestiveness.

On no day of all his later years was Dr. Duff happier than on that of the one patron saint tolerated but forgotten by Scotsmen, till they go abroad. Their Churches had agreed with those of England and Ireland to observe St. Andrew's Day, the 30th November, annually as a time of intercession with God for an increase in the number of missionaries. While with as much catholicity as is allowed to him Dean Stanley opened the nave of Westminster Abbey on that occasion to some great preacher, lay or clerical, of one of the Reformed Churches, there met in the hall of the Free Church General Assembly a congregation whose service was led by a representative of each of the three branches of the old historic Kirk. It happened, unfortunately, that Dr. Duff was committed to preside at the Scottish intercessory service of 1876, when the Dean of Westminster asked him to preach in the Abbey from which Presbyterianism takes its confession and its catechisms, as the immediate successor of the venerable Dr. Moffat of South Africa. In the last sermon, of 1878, which he preached on these unique occasions, in the morning before the lecture in the nave, Dean Stanley thus gracefully, if not with perfect historical accuracy, alluded to Dr. Duff:—

“For the fourth teacher in this succession there would have been, but for the imperative duties required by the like celebration in his own communion beyond

the border, one whom the late Chief Ruler of India had designated as, amongst all living names, the one that had carried most weight amongst the Hindoo and the Muhammadan nations of our vast empire, as a faithful pastor and a wise and considerate teacher. Though he belonged in his later years to a communion which had broken off from its parent stock, yet his generous spirit eagerly welcomed the call which was made to him, and, but for the accidental circumstance to which I have referred, would gladly have responded to it. His place was filled by a representative preacher from the Church of Ireland."

The catholic intercessory service was followed soon after by the promise to lecture, in Edinburgh University, to the Missionary Society of the theological students of the Established Church, formed in 1825 by his Bombay colleague, Dr. Wilson, whose death at the close of 1875 he had mourned. As the years went on and death thinned the ranks not only of his contemporaries, but of his converts and students, he turned with ever fonder affection to the past—to those in the past still spared by time. This is one of many letters which show his closing days lighted up by the reflection of his earlier triumphs in the cause of truth and righteousness, when he was still a ruddy youth of twenty-four, from the lecture-room of College Square shaking all Calcutta. He is writing to his second convert, the stout-hearted editor of the *Inquirer* of 1832, whom the University of Calcutta had honoured with the degree of LL.D.—the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea :

" 22, LAUDER ROAD, EDINBURGH, 8th June, 1876.

" MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,—Though it is now a long time since I have written to you, or heard from you direct, I often hear of you, and constantly, indeed I may say daily, think of

you; as it is my habit to remember, in my humble prayers, among others old Indian friends, and especially those who, like yourself, have been honoured in rendering good service in the cause of our common glorious Lord and Master Jesus Christ. Often, of ~~in~~ also when alone—and I am often alone as regards human society—do I recall the singularly stirring days of ‘auld lang syne,’ as we say in Scotland, the days of forty-five or forty-six years ago! To think of them, and of the mighty changes since, often affords the greatest solace and encouragement to my own spirits.

“But I cannot dwell on these now. About ten days ago I met with a severe accident which confined me to bed for a week, and I am now only slowly recovering from the effects of it. I cannot, however, let this mail leave without writing, however meagrely and briefly, to congratulate you on your well-merited university honour at last! The late Bishop Cotton used to confer with me about it; and we both lamented that the door was not then open. Since returning to this country, I again and again thought of applying to one of our Scottish Universities on the subject; and some obstacle or other always came in the way. I, therefore, now rejoice the more on that account, that it has come to you in a way so natural and in every respect so honourable. Long may you still survive, my dear friend, to enjoy it! Apart from this object it was my intention to write and thank you for a copy which has reached me of your latest work, ‘The Aryan Witness,’ marked on the title page ‘With the author’s compliments.’ With all my heart I thank you for this very kind remembrance of me. I have already looked through it; and find that it is every way worthy of your deservedly high reputation for learned research and scholarship, while you calmly maintain your character as a Christian. Long may you live to produce such works! May the Lord bless you more and more! Yours affectionately,

“ALEXANDER DUFF.”

We trace a link with a still earlier past in the acknowledgment of a contribution which Dr. Duff sent for the erection of a memorial of Dugald Buchanan, the Gaelic catechist of Kinloch Rannoch, whose poems had fed his youthful fancy and coloured his later life.

Dr. Duff had hardly written his hopeful letter to Lady Durand at the end of 1876, when his malady assumed a new and acute form. Yet with unconscious heroism he struggled on all through the months to the close of the session. Incidentally, in a letter to Mr. Martin of Auchendennan on certain books submitted to him for his opinion, he thus described his condition :

“ EDINBURGH, 1st March, 1877.

“ For several months I have been much troubled with the slow and gradual but constantly increasing growth of a peculiar tumour in the hollow behind my right ear. The pain was unceasing by day and night. About a fortnight ago, when in Edinburgh, I felt constrained to consult two separate doctors. They both concurred in the same judgment, viz., that the malady was a serious one, but was still, humanly speaking, removable by a surgical operation, which would be very painful and necessitate my being confined to my room for a few days thereafter. I asked if it would make any material difference if I delayed the operation for a week or ten days, as I was most anxious to finish my work in Glasgow, before being disabled thereby. The reply was, the sooner the operation is performed the better; but since the malady had been so long maturing, a week or ten days longer might make no essential difference. On Monday about 3 p.m. Dr. Watson came with his assistant to my house. Knowing how severe the pain would be he advised the use of chloroform. But, on the whole, I declined this, on the simple ground that I would rather try and consciously bear pain necessitated by a visitation of Providence, than deliberately render myself unconscious of it during the necessary operation. This, with his wonted skill, Dr. Watson performed; though more than once I all but fainted away under the acuteness of the pain. Soon, however, by God’s blessing, the acute pain was ended, and gave place to a dull bearable pain.

“ Since then my head has been, and still is, bandaged up. I am quite unfit to see any one—indeed, peremptorily forbidden by the doctor to see any one but my daughter, who acts as the kindest of nurses towards me. I am not forbidden, however,

to read a little or write a little, though in the state of my head the doctor recommends as little of either as at all possible. So I have looked again into the books."

Not only the General Assembly in May, but the first meeting of the General Presbyterian Council in July, was denied to the invalid. But his indomitable spirit burst forth, to the latter, in a letter burning with almost youthful enthusiasm for missionary extension. He urged that the first Council of all the Presbyterian Churches of Europe, America, and their colonies, representing 19,373 congregations, should not allow its charity and faith to evaporate in conferences and resolutions only, but should undertake a joint mission in Melanesia, where already the New Hebrides group, consecrated by the blood of John Williams and the Gordons, is being evangelized by five Presbyterian Churches. The reply of the Council, which is to hold its second meeting at Philadelphia next September, thus concluded :

"The Council desire to express their veneration and love for Dr. Duff, the first missionary to the heathen from the Reformed Church of Scotland, and they bless the Lord of the Church for his long and honoured services in connection with the spread of the gospel of the grace of God. It has been a subject of deep regret to the delegates from all Churches and countries, that in consequence of weak health Dr. Duff has been prevented from attending the meetings of Council. They ask Dr. Duff to accept, with their affectionate regard, the assurance of their earnest prayer that it may please God to spare him yet a little longer for the cause of Christ on the earth, and that in the retirement of the sick room he may abide in the peace which passeth all understanding, and be supported by the sense of his blessed Master's presence."

Dr. Duff had sought health in his loved solitude of Patterdale ; but the long walks to which convalescence tempted him brought on persistent jaundice. The disease continued to gain on him in spite of a residence for six weeks at the German bath of Neuenahr, of the skill of Dr. P. H. Watson, and of the loving attention of his devoted daughter and grandson. He was with difficulty brought back by slow stages to Edinburgh. There he wrote letters, resigning all the offices he held in the Church and in many societies, religious and benevolent. Not that his courageous though resigned soul anticipated removal. But he had resolved to devote his whole nature to a renewed advocacy throughout Scotland of the duty of more faithfully carrying out Christ's last commission. The Indian mail brought him a newspaper report of the proceedings of his converts, students and native friends, all Christians, who had met in the hall of the Free Church Institution on the 18th of August to unveil a bust of their great teacher and spiritual father, made by Mr. Hutchison, of Edinburgh. He summoned strength to write to his successor there, Mr. Fyfe, who had presided on the occasion, a long letter, which thus closed :

" It is true that I did, and do, most fervently long for the intellectual and moral, the social and domestic elevation of the people of India ; and that in my own humble way I did, and do still, labour incessantly towards the realizing of so blessed a consummation. I have lived in the assured faith, and shall die in the assured faith, that ultimately, sooner or later, it shall, under the overrulings of a gracious Providence, be gloriously realized. Meanwhile, though absent in the body I can truly say that I am daily present in spirit with yourself and all other fellow-labourers in India, whether European or Native. Indeed wherever I

wander, wherever I stay, my heart is still in India—in deep sympathy with its multitudinous inhabitants, and in earnest longings for their highest welfare in time and in eternity."

To escape the northern winter he was removed to the sheltered Devonshire retreat of Sidmouth, where two years previously he had found rest. Not long before Sir Bartle Frere had tried to draw him as his guest to Africa, to the old scenes at Cape Town, to a tour among the missions new and old in Kaffraria and Natal. We shall never forget our parting interview the night before he left Edinburgh, when the veteran of seventy-two was still the old man eloquent, his eye flashing as he heard of the relief of the famine-striken millions of South India, and his half audible voice seeming to gain momentary strength as he blessed God for the liberality of the Christian people who had saved them. On another he specially laid the duty of thanking the treasurers and collectors of the mission associations which he had created. "Ah," he exclaimed, "we should never have got on without their assistance, and I have long felt that their services have never been sufficiently acknowledged."

He was succeeded in his office of president of the Anglo-Indian Evangelization Society by Lord Polwarth, and was placed in the honorary position of its patron along with the great statesman who was to follow him all too soon, Lord Lawrence. But the chair of Evangelistic Theology, emphatically his own creation and the pride of his Church, is not yet filled up. As he lay a-dying he was troubled at what he believed to be an inadequate estimate of its nature and importance, and dictated a remonstrance which cannot be much longer overlooked. He had resigned it, he wrote, in the belief that there would be carried out "the spirit of the General Assembly's enactment con-

stituting the chair, and the intention of its liberal founders, which was that it should be mainly, though not exclusively, devoted to the grand theme of Foreign Missions, the field of which is ‘the world.’ ”

Summoned from Calcutta by telegraph his second son reached his side just a month before he passed away, to join with his daughter and with the grandson who bears his name in tender ministration. Very precious was the privilege of communion with the man of God during that month. So incessant had been his activities in his Master’s service; so eager was his spirit even then to complete, as he thought, his earthly work for such a Master, that he would fain have lived, yet was resigned to his Father’s will. When the first joy of seeing his son was over, he said, “I am in God’s hands, to go or stay. If He has need of me He will raise me up; if otherwise it is far better.” That was on the 12th January. As the days of weakness passed on, the poison in the blood gaining on the body but the brain holding untouched the citadel of the soul, he said on the 24th: “I had intended if spared—if spared—to resign next May absolutely both offices (the professorship and convenership). It seemed the natural course of procedure when entering on my jubilee year—the fiftieth year of being a missionary of the Established Church of Scotland. If God spared me, my intention then was, after being thus liberated from necessary official duties, to give myself wholly to the completion of the work which was only begun by the establishment of the missionary professorship; that is, to try and rouse the people of Scotland to a sense of the paramount duty of devoting themselves to the cause of Missions, and secure the means of establishing an endowment of a Home and Foreign Missionary Institute, based upon the most unsectarian and comprehensive principles of the glorious and blessed

gospel of Christ. If I saw this accomplished, or a solid prospect of its being soon accomplished, I should feel, as far as my humble judgment could discern, that my work on earth to promote the glory and honour of my blessed Saviour was completed, and would be ready to exclaim with old Simeon, ‘Now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace.’ But if all this were to be unexpectedly unhinged, and a totally different course in Providence opened up, I was prepared—thanks, eternal thanks, to the Great Jehovah, I was equally ready and willing—to submit to any change which He in His infinite wisdom, goodness and love might be pleased to indicate.” Then, exhausted, he whispered, “I am very low and cannot say much, but I am living aily, habitually in Him.”

On the same day he dictated the names of dear friends, some fifty in all, to whom he desired a memorial of his affection to be sent from his library, specifying in one case the volumes to be given, which were the works of De Quincey. When told, three days after, Sir Joseph Fayerer’s opinion of his state, he replied, “I never said with more calmness in my life, continually by day and by night, ‘Thy will, my God, my God, be done,’ ” and he repeated this with great pathos. “In my own mind,” he exclaimed, “I see t’ e whole scheme of redemption from eternity more clear and glorious than I ever did.” On his daughter repeating to him John Newton’s hymn, written as if for the dying believer,

“How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,”

the hardly audible voice responded with unearthly emphasis, “Unspeakable!”

On the 27th Dr. Duff seemed to rally so far as to receive and to dictate replies to many messages of prayerful sympathy from such old friends as Sir C.

Trevelyan, Mr. Hawkins, General Colin Mackenzie, and others. Recalling the heroism of that officer in the first Afghan disasters, he exclaimed, "That's true Christianity. Give my intense and warmest love to him and to his wife. His manly heroic bearing always appeared to me an incarnation of the ancient heroes christianized. The loving Christian nature of himself and his wife ever drew me to both as with an irresistible attraction." On hearing a letter from Lord Polwarth read, he replied, "I can respond 'Amen' to every sentence, as well as to the intense desirability of having some common Bible enterprise to which all Christians of all denominations might freely give their generous and liberal support, and thus ultimately come together into a state of amalgamation and harmony instead of the present lamentable condition of variance, discord, disharmony and jealousy, brooding over which has often well-nigh broken my heart. It is so contrary to the intense and burning love which brought the eternal Son of God from heaven to earth to seek and to save the lost, and from a scattered, degraded, dislocated society to raise up a world-wide brotherhood of Christian harmony, goodwill and love." After pausing a few minutes, he added, "Tell him I begged you to send my warmest Christian affectionate regards to good Lady Aberdeen, and my feelings of real goodwill and regard to all the members of that blessed family." After hearing a letter read from a valued correspondent, in which strong expressions were employed to describe the work he had been permitted to accomplish, he said, "I have received these things with more than calmness, because I know in my own mind the deductions that should be made from such statements. Paul was jealous for his credit and character, not for his own sake but for the sake of the credit and character of Christianity."

February found him still dying, but ever brightening in spirit and living much in the past. An allusion, in his hearing, to an attack in an Anglo-Indian newspaper on his policy in connection with Christian education and the Calcutta University, sent him back to his controversy with Lord Auckland. He indicated that he would have followed the same course now, and he dictated a vindication of that system for which all intelligent men of every class and church, save the secularists, now honour him. He even explained in detail the course of mental and moral philosophy, of natural and revealed religion, over which he used to take his students, and he left the request to Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, to write a manual of philosophy which should be abreast of the latest developments of thought, in East and West, while vindicating Christianity. Twelve days before the end came he made his last reference to purely public affairs. In reply to an earnest question about the war news, he was told that the son of his old friend, Sir Charles Trevelyan, was to open the debate in the House of Commons that night, when he exclaimed, "A smart, clever fellow that!"

On the 2nd February he alluded to the prospect of soon being laid beside the dust of his wife. Of the good and great men like Chalmers and Guthrie, whose remains lie in the same Grange cemetery, he said with earnestness, "There's a perfect forest of them." His last conscious Sabbath was that of the 3rd February. "I can feel, I can think, but the weakness prevents my almost opening my mouth," he panted. When one said to him, "You are like John at Patmos, you are in the Spirit on the Lord's day," the earnest response was, "Oh, yes! Oh, yes!" But on that day the hand of death became more evidently visible. Still he could ask for his grandchildren, and was ever careful to thank his loving ones for their ministrations.

tions. When, in the evening, his daughter repeated to him the twenty-third Psalm as he lay apparently unconscious, he responded at the end of each verse. Even on Saturday, the 9th, the departing saint could recognise the voices he loved, but his only response then was a grasp of the hand. Without acute suffering, and in perfect peace, he lingered on till Tuesday morning, the 12th February. "He was just like one passing away into sleep; I never saw so peaceful an end," was the remark of a bystander.

Next morning the telegraph and long and intensely appreciative sketches of the missionary in *The Times* and *Daily News*, and in all the Scottish newspapers, carried the sad but not unexpected intelligence wherever the English language was read. In India, Africa and America alike, where he had been personally known and where his works follow him, the journals and ecclesiastical bodies gave voice to the public sorrow. In his own city of Edinburgh, to which the dear remains were at once conveyed from Sidmouth, the burial of Alexander Duff proved to be a lesson in Christian unity not less impressive than his own eloquent words and whole career. Around his bier, as he had often taught them to do in the field of Foreign Missions, the Churches gathered and Christians of all confessions met. The Lord Provost Boyd, the magistrates and council, in formal procession, represented civic Scotland. The four Universities and Royal High School, professors and students, marched in the vast company around Bruntsfield Links, which were covered by the citizens and by crowds from the country, while the deep-toned bell of Barclay Church slowly clanged forth the general grief. How for the first time in Scottish ecclesiastical history the three Kirks and their Moderators, the representatives of the English and American and Indian Churches through their

missionary societies and officials, trod the one funeral march ; how peer and citizen, missionary and minister bore the pall or laid the precious dust in the grave till the resurrection, and how on the next Sabbath half the pulpits of Scotland and not a few elsewhere told this generation what the Spirit of God had enabled the departed to do, is recorded in the volume "In Memoriam" which his family published at the time. It was felt that not only Scotland had lost its noblest son, but all the Reformation lands had seen taken from them the greatest missionary of Christ. Let this picture of the scene suffice, drawn at the time by Lord Polwarth, in a letter to Lady Aberdeen.

"MONDAY.—I have to-day stood at the grave of our dear old Dr. Duff, and was asked to act as one of the pall-bearers, as being a personal friend and as representing you. I felt it a very great honour, and one of which I am very unworthy, but I believe few there loved him more truly than I did. Somehow I felt strongly attached to him from our first meeting. He was a truly great man, and all Edinburgh and far beyond seemed to feel that to-day. It was a solemn sacred sight. Such crowds of people lining the streets and all along the meadows; such a long, long line of carriages, such an assemblage of men belonging to all the Churches ! The great missionary societies were all represented, the city, the universities. As we walked into the cemetery we walked through a long row of students ! I stood at the foot of the open grave and watched the coffin lowered down. Mary's words were, 'His coffin should be covered with palm branches.' I felt not sorrowful in one sense, for he was weary, weary in the work. I climbed up the long, long stairs to his room in the Free Church offices to-day, but he will climb up no more in weariness. Then I felt it was the grave of a Christian

hero and conqueror, and came away with the desire that I, even I, and many others may be enabled to unite and bear the standard he bore so nobly.

"I noticed close beside me a black lad gazing with his big rolling eyes into the grave. How many there would have been from India had it been possible. One thing was forced on one's mind,—how utterly all the petty divisions which now separate Christians sink out of sight when one comes near the great realities."

Lord Polwarth has charged himself with the leadership of a catholic movement for the establishment of the Duff Missionary Institute. Desirous in death to secure the completion of his missionary propaganda, Dr. Duff bequeathed to trustees selected from all the evangelical churches what personal property he had, as the foundation of a lectureship on Foreign Missions, on the model of the Bampton. Thus is preserved unbroken and full, for his own and for coming generations, the self-sacrificing unity of a life which from youth to old age was directed by the determination to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified; a life which Mr. Gladstone has thus linked on to the brotherhood of the whole Catholic Church :

"I confess for myself that, in viewing the present state of the Christian world, we should all adhere openly and boldly to that which we believe and which we hold, not exaggerating things of secondary importance as if they were primary; and, on the other hand, not being ashamed of the colours of the particular regiment in which we serve, nor being disposed to disavow the secondary portions of our convictions. Having said that I may say that I have said it for the purpose of attesting, as I trust it will attest, the sincerity with which I wish to bear testimony to the noble character and the noble work of the man whose memory I

propose we should honour. Providential guidance and an admonition from within, a thirst and appetite not addressed to the objects which this world furnishes and provides, but reaching far beyond it, and an ambition—if I may so say—and an ambition of a very different quality from the commodity ordinarily circulated under that name, but something irrepressible, something mysterious and invisible, prompted and guided this remarkable man to the scene of his labours. Upon that scene he stands in competition, I rejoice to think, with many admirable, holy, saintly men, almost contemporaries of ours—contemporaries, many of them, of myself. Proceeding from quarters known by different names and different associations here, but engaged in a cause essentially holy in those different quarters of the world, I am glad to think that from the bosom of the Church of England there went forth men like Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson, bearing upon their labours a very heroic and apostolic stamp. But I rejoice not less unfeignedly to recollect that they have competitors and rivals in that noble race of the Christian warfare, among whom Dr. Duff is one of the most eminent. Among many such rivals we might name the names of Carey and Marshman; we might name Dr. Moffat, who is still spared to the world. But we must recollect Dr. Duff is one who not only stood in the first rank for intelligence, energy, devotion and advancement in the inward and spiritual life among those distinguished and admirable personages, but who likewise so intensely laboured in the cause that he shortened the career which Providence would in all likelihood have otherwise committed to him, and he has reaped his reward in the world beyond the grave at an earlier date than those whose earthly career is lengthened into a long old age. He is one of the noble army of the confessors of Christ.

Let no one envy them the crown which they have earned. Let every man, ~~on~~ the contrary, knowing that they now stand in the presence and in the judgment of Him before Whom we must all appear, rejoice that they have fought a good fight, that they have run their race manfully and nobly, and that they have laboured for the glory of God and the good of man.'

THE END.

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